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themselves wondered, "How it was that in former times the foals were tied and the mares milked so early." At present mares foal in the twelfth month (*mūs ustar*) and even in the first month (*balyk ӯr*), approximately in April or May. The Yakut begin to milk their mares in the first month (*balyk ӯr*). But to clear up these moot points, it should be noted that the names for two more months are known: *atyjax yya* (the month of pitchfork, i.e., of drying hay) and *balahañña kirār yi* (the month of changing the summer dwelling for the winter house). The Yakut usually say that the first of these two months is the same as *tördünyū* (the fourth), but they are confused concerning the second month. Mr. V. M. Jonov is of the opinion that both names were inserted between the months *ot yya* and *bācinyi*, instead of *tördünyū*, when the month names failed to match the corresponding season. Thus we have a thirteen month year. Jonov found that the Yakut agreed with him in this explanation.[1]

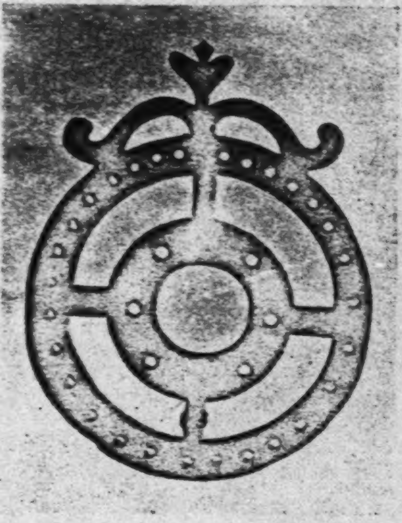

Fig. 1 (70-8818). A Calendar, the Inner Perforations represent the Days of the Week, the Outer Perforations, the Days of the Month.

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After becoming Christians the Yakut no longer followed this method of reckoning time, but oriented themselves by the Christian holidays, for instance: *kirisiāniye* (Russian, *krestcheniye*), baptism, January sixth; *Kiristiāp* (Russian, *Kristov*), Easter: *Orosuospa* (Russian *Rozhdestvo*), Christmas; *bulāstar* (Russian, *Vlasii*), or *ynax tañarata* (cow's holiday), February eleventh. Russians regard Saint Vlasii as the protector of domestic cattle and among the Yakut this saint replaced the female deity, Ayisit, of their old mythology. Among the Yakut are experienced individuals who know the number of days between holidays since it is easier to deal with immovable feasts. For movable festivals, they must often consult their priest. On the wall of every Yakut dwelling is a calendar, usually consisting of a small board with holes corresponding to the number of days in the year.

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[1] Jonov, V. M., L'Aigle dans les Croyances Yakoutes (*Publications du Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. XVI, pp. 1-28, St.-Pétersbourg, 1913 [In Russian]), 22-23.

805 ● 177 796 The immovable feasts are marked by crosses over the holes. A wooden peg is placed in the hole to indicate the current date, thus showing whether it is an ordinary day or a holiday. Fig. 1 shows a circular calendar; the inner circle has seven perforations, corresponding to the seven days of the week. A peg is shown in the hole for Sunday, over which there is a cross. The outer ring has thirty holes. When the month has thirty-one days, the peg is kept in the last hole for two days. If the month has twenty-nine or twenty-eight days, the peg must be transferred to the first day of the next month. The calendar is called *kūn ahar*, it counts the days, or *sibaska* (Russian, *svyatzy*, calendar of saints), or *nādiālā asarar mas*, board which shows the week.

The Yakut began to count the month by weeks only after Russianization. Thus, for week, they use the Russian word *nādiālā* (*nedielya*). The days of the week are also known by Russian names:—

Sunday, *tañara kūnā* (festival day), *boskyrsyanya* (Russian, *voskresenye*), or *nādiālā bỹsa* (the dividing day of the week)

Monday, *bādāliānik* (Russian, *ponedelnik*)

Tuesday, *otuornyuk* or *oltuorunyuk* (Russian, *vtornik*)

Wednesday, *čārādā* (Russian, *sereda*)

Thursday, *cāppiār* (Russian, *chetverg*)

Friday, *pātiñsā* or *bātiñsā* (Russian, *pyatnitza*)

Saturday, *subātā* (Russian, *subbota*)

When a man is ill or unfortunate, it is necessary for him to seek 756
someone who will find the cause and who will either cure him or release him from his misfortune. Such people are known under various names: *alhacci*, conjuror; *mändäric*, hysterical; *körbüöccü*, prophet; *icān*, sorcerer; *oyūn*, shaman; *udahan*, woman-shaman.

Their ideas as to the creation of the world have not been affected 772
by contact with Christianity. In their religious constructions, the Yakut 177
start from what exists and, in their own way, explain the changes in the order of things which existed from the beginning. The very conception of creation, expressed in the word *ai*, is very close to the notion of arrangement or transformation. *Ajÿsyt*, the goddess of lying-in, is called creative generator, but this means only that she brings the child's soul, is present, and assists while in child-bed.

Although parents are responsible for a child while it is growing, it 776
may itself be punished for disrespect towards the spirits. When he has 783
reached maturity, marries, and establishes his own household, he selects a place to build a house, but it has its owner-spirit from whom it is necessary to obtain permission to proceed. When the house, stall, and shelter for cattle are ready, each of these buildings, as well as the new fireplace, has its own "owners" with whom it is important to enter into good relations. To procure food and clothing for the family it is necessary to hunt in the woods and to fish in the lakes, but forests and waters have their own owners, without whose permission one cannot use the utilities they supervise. That the family may have adequate provision, the cattle must propagate, and for this, corresponding spirits must be propitiated. For the cattle, one needs to store hay, but grass grows in places belonging to particular owners. While traveling, a man passes the possessions of different owners, who must be conciliated with gifts or appropriate prayers. Thus, we see a well organized system in the relations of man to the circle of spirits. However, a closer investigation shows the system to consist of heterogeneous elements. To give some examples:—

A man-shaman is called *oyūn* and a woman-shaman, *udahan*. Both 756
play an important rôle in Yakut beliefs. While *oyūn* is a Turkic word, 177
udahan is adopted from the Mongolian language. Why? Why also is a woman-shaman regarded as more powerful than a man shaman? Why may *oyūn* enter into the formation of compound words (for instance, *mas oyūn*, a wooden shaman, is called the humming top) while *udahan* may not be so used? Why may *oyūn* and not *udahan* be part of words designating inanimate objects?

influence, and to some extent by the high cost and difficulty of securing 756
iron and copper in the northern sections of Yakut Province. The coat 292
is made of dressed reindeer hide, instead of the calf hide usually employed 177 ●
by the Yakut. The skirt of the coat is not sewn to the upper half, but is
buckled to the latter under the fringe at the belt, so that the garment
may be lengthened or shortened to fit the shaman. The sleeves are not

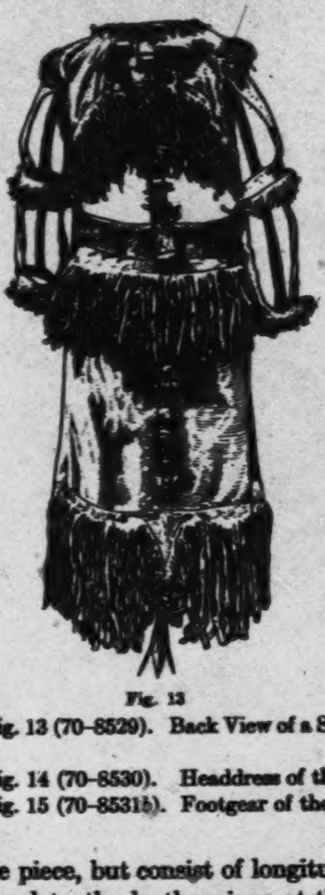

Fig. 13

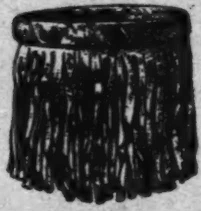

Fig. 14

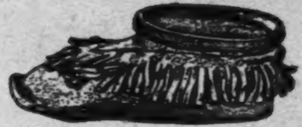

Fig. 15

Fig. 13 (70-8529). Back View of a Shaman's Coat worn by Yakut of the Kolyma River.

Fig. 14 (70-8530). Headdress of the Kolyma Yakut Shaman.

Fig. 15 (70-8531b). Footgear of the Kolyma Yakut Shaman.

in one piece, but consist of longitudinal strips of hide sewn to the shoulders and to the leather rings at the elbow and wrist. This coat is not
worn over the naked body, but over the ordinary dress. The pendants, [532]
kīsan, on the coat consist of tassels strung with beads and of copper
tubes with copper discs sewn to their ends. On the back a longitudinal
tasseled strip ending in a tail represents the vertebræ, *tonohos*. The tail
consists of an iron arrow with iron pendants at the sides, called *jil kīsan*.

756 292 ● 177 532 The fringe around the coat represents feathers. In front of the coat is visible the apron, which is sewn to the left border as a chest protector and tied to the right with straps. This is not put on separately, as among the Tungus and Yukaghir. In this respect the arrangement of the apron is like that described by Vasilyev and Pekarsky for a Yakut shaman's coat. The dress itself is not decorated with the iron figures characteristic of Yakut shamanistic coats. Instead, tin discs hang from the edge of the inner side of the drum which belongs to the costume. These discs replaced the ice-hole-disc (*oibón-küsäñä*) and sun-disc (*kün-küsäñä*), which are usually sewn to the back of the coat. Inside the drum were also tin representations of birds; a stork (*kïtalïk*), and two varieties of wood-cocks called *čökčöño* and *kurrikači*. Representations of birds were placed on the apron and on those coats of Yakut shamans which had chest protectors.

Fig. 14 represents the headdress, belonging to the shaman's dress, illustrated in Fig. 13. It consists of a wire ring decorated with a reindeer skin fringe. The fringe hat is characteristic of the Yukaghir and Tungus shamans. The Yakut shamans either dispense with a hat altogether, letting their long hair hang loosely over the face, or they wear women's caps. The leather footgear of the shaman is illustrated in Fig. 15.

756 292 Not all Yakut shamans wear a special dress during their shamanistic performances, some perform without a special costume and even without a drum. On the Kolyma River, I met such a shaman, named Konon. He was blind. Konon was often called in to cure the sick and was regarded as a powerful shaman. But he told me himself that he did not have the main *ämägät* (shaman's spirit). For a shaman's coat he substituted a woman's coat, *sañiyax*, while instead of a drum, he used as a horse for his journey to the subterranean world a willow (*jalbyr*) with three branches, to which were tied hair from the tail of a white horse.[1] He wore a woman's cap made of ermine skins. Before the shamanistic performance, the assistant bound the shaman's chest and shoulder with a strap, *täsin*, the end of which he held from behind, while the performance was in progress.

756 534 177 *The Shaman's Drum.* The Yakut shaman's drum (*düñür* or *tüñür*) is covered with a hide from a young bull (Fig. 16). It is oval in shape. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm. There are twelve protuberances or elevations representing horns, which serve as resonators, but also have a symbolic significance. According to a Yakut shaman from the Rodchevo settlement on the Kolyma River, who had

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[1] See Jochelson, Yukaghir, Plate X, Fig. 1.

756 534 ● 177 a drum with five protuberances, the two upper ones represent horns, the two middle ones, on the sides represent ears, while the fifth elevation, the lowest one, represents the chin. The fact that the upper protuberances are called horns leads us to suspect Tungus influence. Among the Tungus the drum appears as the shaman's reindeer and among the Yakut as his horse. According to Sieroszevski[1] the number of the protuberances is always odd: seven, nine, eleven, but the drum here illustrated proves that there are exceptions. Inside the drum, near the center, is an iron cross which serves as a handle (*byaryk*). Little bells and other metallic rattles, called *äryk*, are attached inside around the rim. Before being used the drum is heated at the fire, thus tautening the hide and causing the sounds to become clearer and more sonorous. The drumstick is called *bylayax*, its length is 32 to 34 cm. The wider end for beating, is covered with cowhide. The stick is regarded as the shaman's whip when he starts into the world of spirits on his drum-horse.

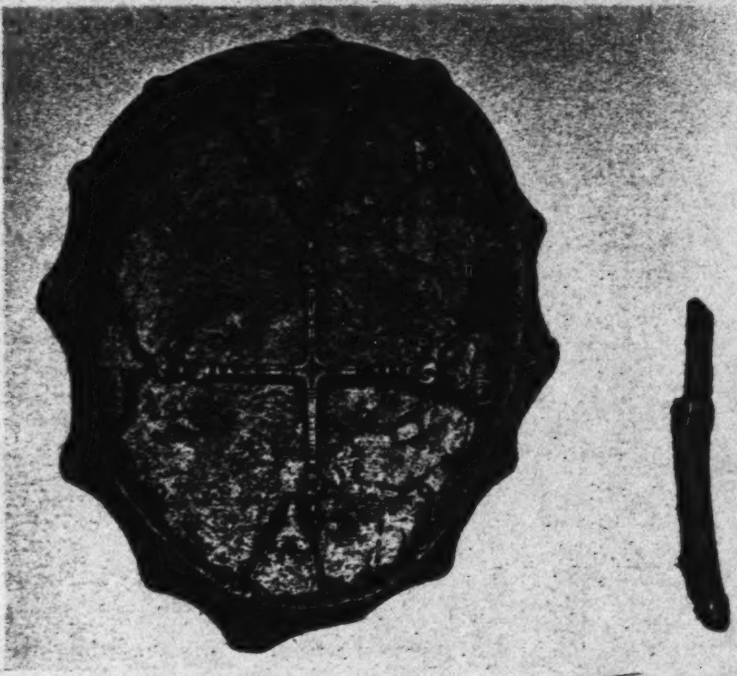

Fig. 16 (70-9071). Shaman's Drum and Drumstick.

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[1] Sieroszevski, *ibid.*, 625.

181 says that aged people are not in favor; they are beaten by their own
888 children and are often forced to leave their dwellings and to beg from
house to house. They are not admitted by the rich and poor people force them to do hard work, like dressing skins (Figs. 17, 18), for every bit of food.

583 The Yakut look for brides for their sons not only outside of their clans
614 (*us*, *nasleg*), but outside of the *ulus*, or union of clans. A girl, say the
586 Yakut, is really a lot of aliens. This saying is reminiscent of the old time
marriage by capture. Marriage is now also exogamic, but *kalym* (bride-price) is given in money, cattle, and other goods. Practically, the *kalym* may be regarded as an exchange of presents. What the parents of the bride receive from the parents of the bridegroom is almost equivalent to what they give her when she leaves their house. Often the bride carries with her cattle and goods of a greater value than her parents received that she may not be reproached by the bridegroom's relatives for bringing only a small dowry with her. The young bride remains under the protection of her clan and family. Many common law customs regulate disagreements and dissensions: If a young woman leaves her husband because she dislikes him, her dowry remains with him; but, if she accuses him of cruelties, relatives on both sides decide the matter. The Yakut do not like to appeal to the Russian courts.

582 We have previously mentioned the exogamic character of the Yakut
614 marriages, but some other tendencies have been observed in the northern
588 districts of Yakut Province. The few rich families endeavor to keep
their horses, cattle, and grazing places within a certain group of families through marriage of close relatives, insofar as this is permitted by the Russian church. By special permission of a bishop, even cousins are permitted to marry. In one case, known to the author, a man lived with his niece, a marital relation forbidden by the Church, though his neighbors avoided mentioning this irregularity to strangers.

614 The old Yakut clan was governed by family representatives or a
562 family council in which women very often played a conspicuous rôle.
● 177 After the Russian conquest of Yakut Province, clan ties became less
important and the family head more despotic.

628 The Yakut were warlike and blood vengeance between clans occurred
581 very often, but reconciliation was often sought through payment of a
682 ransom or by giving a girl in marriage, the best way to end hostilities.
It was more difficult to compound assassinations within the clan. To kill the murderer would deprive the clan of another member and the punishment had to take the form of ransom, service, or public disapproval.

comfortable, has a window above it, and is within the range of the cold 654
wind from the open entrance door. During a wedding it is occupied by 342
the owners of the house and their nearest relatives; here also are seated [585]
honored guests when the *billirik*[1] is already occupied. The *billirik* and 352
the *bastyñ uña oron* form the "venerable corner." There a table stands, [778]
over which, under the ceiling, is a small carved and decorated shelf, [532]
called *holloruk*, on which are icons and images of saints painted on 562
boards, to which wax candles, decorated with ribbons, beads, and
other pendants, are affixed; or an embellished oil lamp is hung in front
of the images. There on Sundays and holidays, headed by the hosts,
the inmates and guests gather for prayer, so that this corner is transformed into a kind of chapel. During the prayers, the people stand in front or at the rear of the group, in accordance with their age and position in the community. They bow, cross themselves, hold lighted candles, and burn incense. In Fig. 20 may be seen a brass picture of saints fastened to a board surmounted by crosses. The ancient name of the *bastyñ uña oron* was *kōhūl olox*.

No. 5, the bank opposite the fireplace (No. 9) called *kātāharin*, is the 342
family sleeping place above which there is no window. 352

No. 6, *kānčiārā olox*, is also called *xañas billirik* (left *billirik*) where [513]
adult girls (daughters and relatives) sit, work, and sleep. *Kānčiāra-jon* 554
means young people in general. 562

No. 7 is called *xañas oron*. It serves as a sleeping place for female
laborers or servants and grown children of both sexes. On this bank,
hidden by a curtain, the bride sits during the three days' wedding [585]
festivities.

No. 8 is called *isit oron* (bank for cooking and other household vessels, from *isit*, kitchen ware).

Over Nos. 7 and 8 is usually a shelf called *dolbūr*.

All the banks beyond the *kātāhārīn* are regarded as belonging to the women of the dwelling. When facing the entrance, inside, the male half of the house is to the right and the female half to the left. The *kātāhārīn* (No. 5) or the family sleeping place and all the banks of the female half are supplied with calico (in former times, leather) curtains which are let down during the night.

From the Russians the Yakut adopted the use of tables and 177 ●
tabourets. Illustrations of models of such furniture may be seen in Fig. 352
21. The table is usually much lower than our tables and the tabouret is
as high as the table. The table with refreshments on it is placed before
guests sitting on the banks (*oron*) described above. The Yakut name for

[1] [cf. p. 136, Category 116 -- ANALYST]

177 a table, *ostuol*, shows its origin from the Russian word for table, *stol*.
352 In ancient times, the Yakut used tables without legs, or boards, which were called *sandaly*. These were placed on the floor before the visitors or on the bank between them.

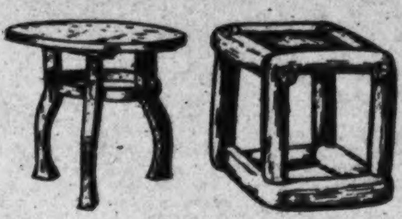

Fig. 21 (70-9284, 9251). Model of a Table and a Chair.

354 The fireplace (*osox*, or *kömülüök*, from the Russian, *kamelek*, No. 9) is situated in the northeastern corner of the dwelling; its front part faces the dividing line between the male and female halves of the house. The hearth, quadratic in form, consists of a wooden trough made of logs or heavy boards, and lined with beaten clay. The length of the sides of the trough is about 5 feet and the height about 11 inches. The chimney, open in front and sloping backward somewhat, consists of poles, tied with twigs at the top, over the roof, and coated in-
562 side with clay. The mistress of the house is the chief guardian of the hearth
841 which is the family protector. She alone is privileged to pass in front of
844 it; all the other women must go around back of it. If the master of the
585 house or an honorary guest stands in front of the hearth, the mistress too
354 must pass behind it. During her menstrual period a woman is not allowed to touch the fire or to approach the hearth. A woman lying-in and her midwife may not enter the part of the house lighted by the flame of the hearth. A bride entering the house of her husband must throw a few little sticks into the fire and make a libation of melted butter. After these, she becomes a member of the family. It seems that the throwing of little sticks is symbolic of making fire, the task of a woman member of the family. A photograph of the Yakut hearth (Fig. 52) may be seen in the chapter on pottery.

342 Fig. 22 shows the exterior of the Yakut earth hut. When built
171 separately from the earth hut for cattle, it has the form of a truncated pyramid, but in the illustration the two structures are combined. The cattle stable has an exit door to the yard, but there is also an inside door leading from the dwelling to the cattle stable (Fig. 19). The Russians call the Yakut earth hut, *yourta*, a name given to all types of native dwellings whether tents or permanent huts. The Yakut themselves call their earth hut, *balahan*, a name used also by the Mongoloid peoples of Siberia. There is a winter earth hut (*kystyk balahan*) and a summer earth hut (*sayylyk balahan*) which do not differ. The summer hut is

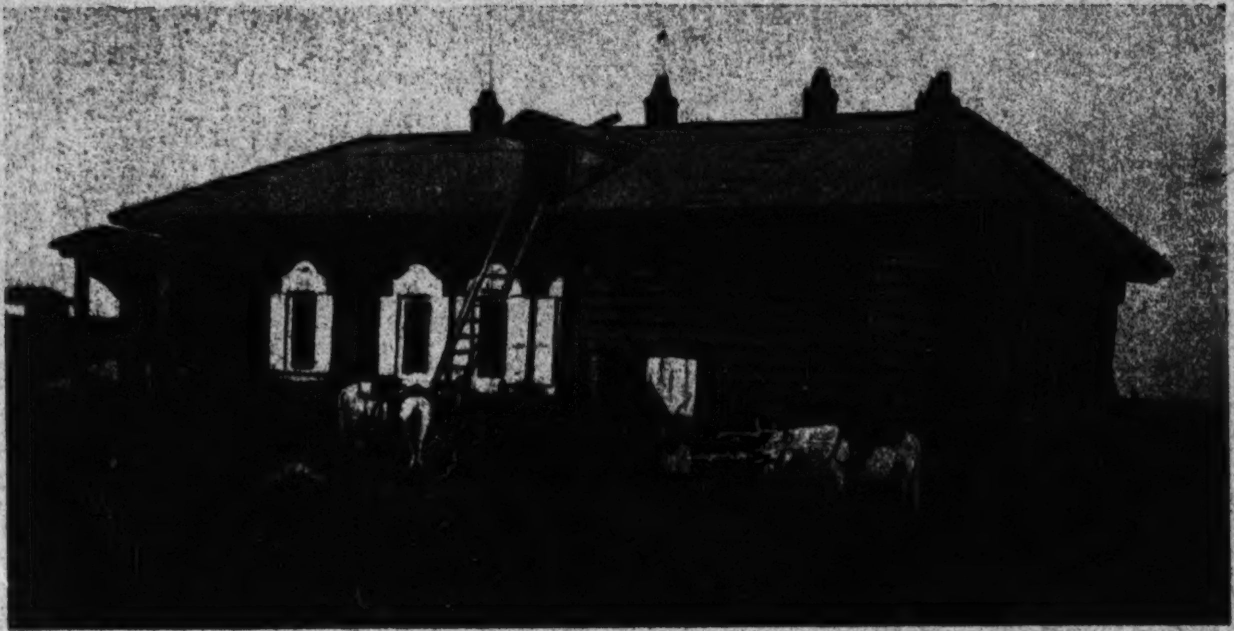

Fig. 23. Log House of the Russian Type, belonging to a Rich Yakut Elder on the Lena River not far from Yakutsk.

342 and shut out mosquitoes. We may assume that this kind of dwelling was invented by the Yakut after their arrival in their present territory from a more southerly habitat. Indeed, the present Yakut dwelling is far more fitted to the harsh sub-polar or polar climate than any type of tent.

● [177] When living near cities or Russian settlements, the Yakut abandon their earth huts and live in log houses of the Russian type. Fig. 23 illustrates a log house of a rich Yakut elder on the Lena River not far from the City of Yakutsk.

As a summer dwelling, the ancient Yakut used a conical tent covered with birchbark (Fig. 24). It differs from other types of birchbark tents in size and in the heavy and solid construction of the wooden frame, so that it cannot be easily transported. These large tent-like dwellings were located far from the winter earth huts of the Yakut and were occupied during the summer so that the horses and cattle might not injure the meadows on which hay is grown for the winter and near which the winter dwellings are situated.

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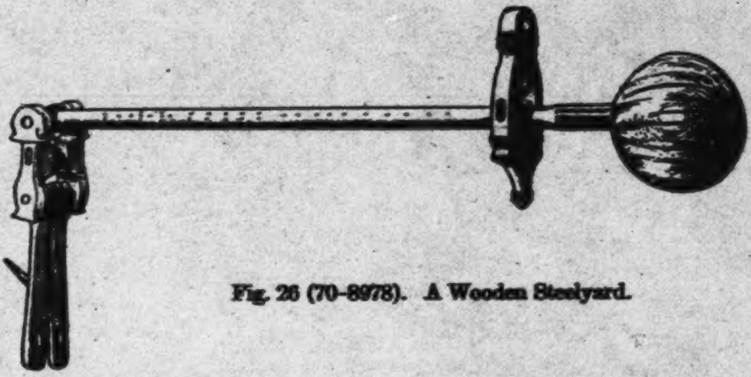

Fig. 26 (70-8978). A Wooden Steelyard.

354 The fireplace of the birchbark tent is constructed like the hearth of the earth hut, i.e., it is a large wooden bottomless box filled with beaten clay. The only difference is that in the tent the fireplace is situated in the center under the opening in the top and has no chimney. This type of dwelling is no longer used, though twenty-five years ago it was occa-
353 sionally observed. The tent was ornamented with engravings, wood, and birchbark carvings, sinew and horsehair embroidery, and with slivers of colored mica and pieces of bright cloth.

342 [177] In some districts a polygonal sloping-roofed blockhouse (Fig. 25) was used instead of the conical tent. The author saw such blockhouses

among the Yakut fishermen of the Upper Kolyma River, as well as among the local Russian settlers. The Altaian Turks also use such a dwelling. 342 [177]

CLOTHING

Headgear takes many forms. One type, worn by men as well as women, has a somewhat pointed top and is trimmed with a large strip of squirrel, fox or marmot skin. Two pointed tabs at the sides protect the ears, as may be seen, for instance, in Fig. 27 which shows a Yakut riding on an ox. Caps of such shape may be seen on the so-called "stone women" in Mongolia, according to Marco Polo. 291 [171]

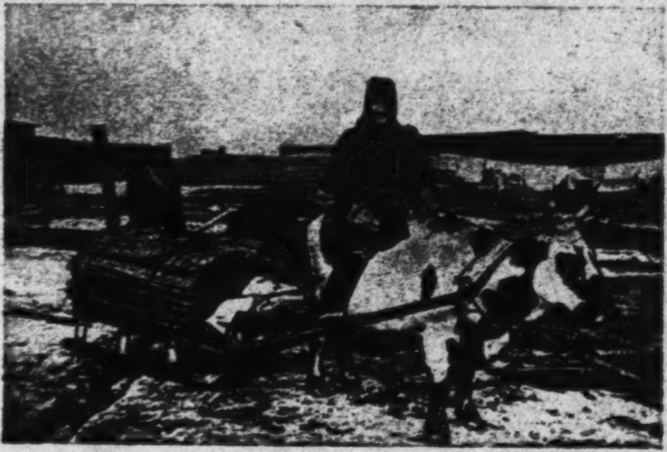

Fig. 27. A Yakut riding an Ox harnessed to a Sledge loaded with Plaited Grass Mats.

A fairly common form for a man's fur cap is shown in Figs. 28 and 29. It has two leather strips which are tied under the chin.

Not far from Yakutsk and other Russian settlements, Yakut men wear round caps of the Russian style with crowns of foxes' legs and trimmed with land otter fur. [177]

In Fig. 30 is illustrated a woman's cap made of fox legskin, trimmed in front with a strip of land otterskin. There are two pairs of leather tie strings; the first is tied under the chin, the second around the neck. The back is ornamented with strips of leather and calico. It is lined with fur from the belly of a fox.

292 A rich woman's cap is shown in Fig. 31. The top is of woolen cloth;
531 the front is decorated with an ornamental silver disc called *tusaxta*, which is described below (Fig. 63). The lower part of the cap is of black foxskin and at the back covers the neck and hangs down the back. In form it resembles the old caps of rich Kirghiz women.

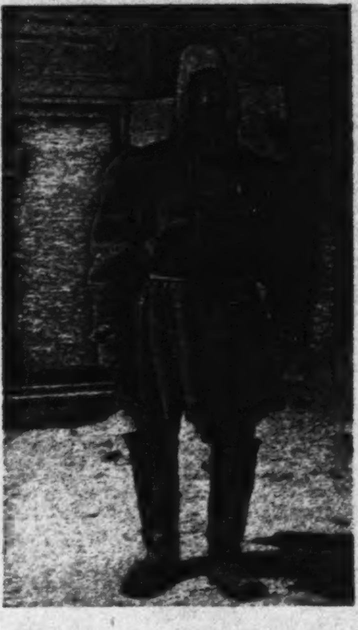

Fig. 28. The Summer Costume of an Impoverished Yakut.

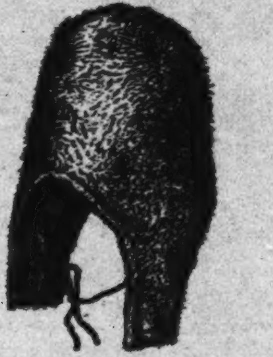

Fig. 29 (70-9229). Fur Cap worn by Men.

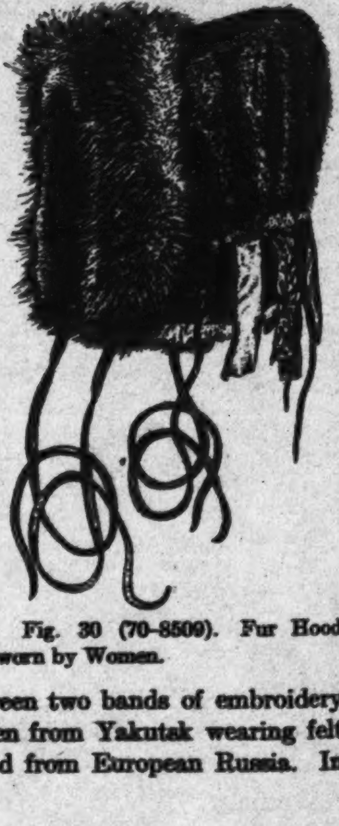

Fig. 30 (70-8509). Fur Hood worn by Women.

531 Fig. 32*ab* shows the front and
291 back of an ornamented top for a woman's cap, decorated with tiny many colored beads. On the front (Fig. 32*a*) is a round silver plate *tusaxta* and on the back (Fig. 32*b*) a red cloth figure, the whole resembling the hat of a Catholic prelate. Beneath this, silver ornaments are fastened to the cloth between two bands of embroidery
177 in silk. Fig. 33 shows two Yakut women from Yakutsk wearing felt
291 hats called *kergemæx* which are imported from European Russia. In

the summer men wear Russian cloth caps with a shade (Fig. 34) or tie 291
a folded handkerchief or a leather string around the forehead. Women 177
cover the head with a large colored calico handkerchief.

Of Yakut outer clothing the *son*
should be mentioned first. It is a single- 291
breasted coat reaching to the knees, of curried reindeer skin, plush, cloth, or other material, lined with hare, fox, marmot fur, or wadding. *Son* or *suon* means full, stout, or corpulent. Poor people wear no other garment but *sons* made of mare, cow, or calfskins with the hair on, turned inward toward the body. The summer *son* is made of some light weight material, cloth or plush, with a thin lining. It is always single-breasted with a

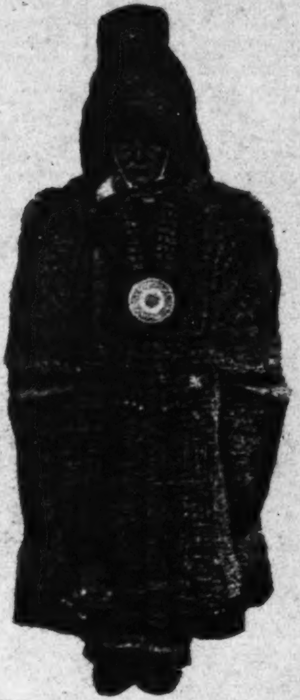

Fig. 31. A Rich Yakut Woman dressed in a Lynx Fur Coat, Black Fox Mittens, and a Fur Cap ornamented with Silver.

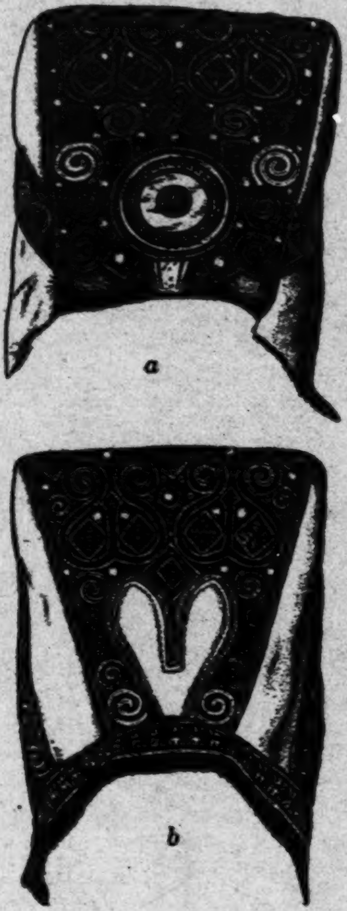

Fig. 32 *ab* (70-8594). Ornamented Crown for Woman's Cap. *a*, Front view; *b*, Back view.

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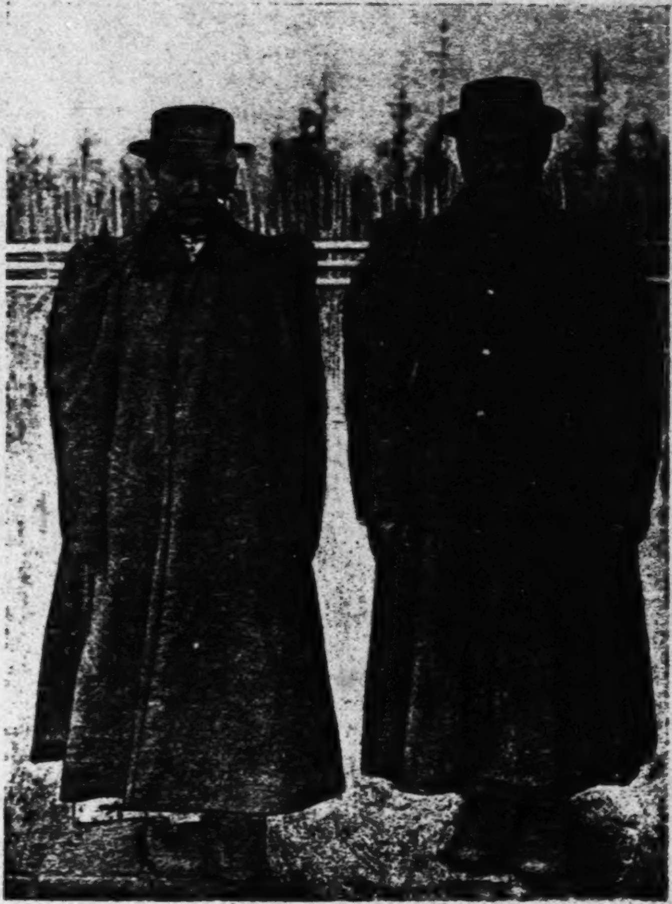

Fig. 33. Two Yakut Women (mother and daughter) from Yakutsk, wearing Felt Hats of Russian Importation.

tight back and loose skirt; the sleeves are tight at the wrist and enlarge 291
gradually to the shoulders, where they are gathered into folds. To give fullness to the skirt gores are set in at the sides, producing many folds in this ugly garment. The collar of the *son* is always worn flat. The *son* of a poor Yakut is shown in Fig. 28. On a journey the Yakut wears an overcoat (*supun* from the Russian *sypun*) made of white, yellow, 292
or gray cloth over the *son*. Its skirts are even fuller than those of the 177
son. In addition, the skirt is slit at the back to facilitate riding. The collar and the side borders are usually trimmed with plush or red cloth. In a woman's *supun* the lower border of the skirt is also ornamented.

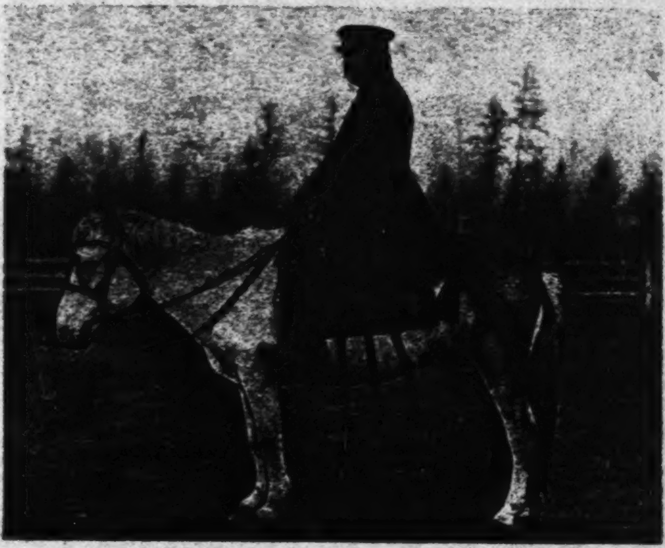

Fig. 34. A Yakut Elder on Horseback, wearing a Russian Cloth Cap with a Peak.

For traveling the Yakut also use another kind of shirt-like overcoat made of reindeer skins without a slit in front. The Yakut buy this type of garment ready-made from the Chukchee, Tungus, or Yukaghir. [439]
Such coats have different names adapted from the Russians, like *parky*, *kuklyanky*, *kukashky* (Russian *parki*, *kuxlanki*, *kukashki*).

Sanayax or *sañyyax* (fur outside) is a long fur overcoat which 292
reaches the ground. It is made of different kinds of fur. In Fig. 31 a lynx coat is shown. The borders of the skirt and sleeves are trimmed with land otter fur. The collar is also of land otter. The lynx has been

800 abdomen uncovered in front, which deficiency is made up by the wearing of warm stomachers.

291 [531] A pair of woman's trousers of curried elkskin ornamented with beads and brass bells is illustrated in Fig. 39. To these are attached two rings to which leggings, stockings, or high boots may be tied. The long leather strings are intended to tie around the stomach protector.

In some cases the short pantalets have developed into long, tight
trousers, the lower ends of which are tied around the legs and over the
291 ankles with strings. Many Yakut, particularly near Russian settle-
177 ments, wear wide trousers of the Russian style. Trousers are made
chiefly from reindeer or calf leather and, for the winter, are fur-lined.
Near Russian settlements trousers of cotton or plush are used during the
summer.

291 We turn our attention here to two peculiarities in the style of Yakut clothing: First, the fancy for flat collars which may be seen in all the illustrations of men's as well as women's clothing. The collar is always of different material and color from that of the coat or shirt. Cloth coats have plush collars. Fur coats usually have collars of more valuable peltry than the rest of the garment. The collars of mare or cowskin coats are of the same material, but in black. Even the calico shirt has a collar. Second, Yakut coats always open in the middle of the front and may thus be distinguished from Buryat or Mongol coats which open near the right shoulder.

294 462 Tailoring is the exclusive work of women. They use no special patterns in cutting out their materials, but follow the form of some old garment, or trust entirely to memory. They know all the Russian stitches, but prefer the simple running stitch, which they use not only in sewing skins, but also cloth and calico. They also employ the back stitch, cross stitch, and button hole stitch. Their stitching is uneven and coarse. They do but little embroidery. The old embroidery patterns were made with silk, sinew thread and horsehair (from the mane or tail).

291 A general name for any kind of footwear is *eterbes*, from Turkic *etik*. Footwear varies with the season and its use for riding or walking on snow, in water, or on rocky and swampy ground. The most characteristic Yakut footwear, called *sāry-eterbes*, or horseskin boots, may be seen in Fig. 40*b*. These are made of dressed and dyed black hide from the hind quarters of a horse. The flat sole is turned up to form the instep and sewn to the top, forming a wedge. The seams are made with great care and the boots are waterproof. A buckle back of the ankles serves

291 ●177 In addition to the clothing enumerated above, the Yakut sometimes wear a *shiletzik* (Russian *shilet*, waistcoat), *altyc* (Russian *galstux*, cravat), *kufaiky* (Russian *fufaika*, sweater), *plat* (Russian *platok*, handkerchief), etc., which they have adopted from the Russians together with their names.

At home, the Yakut, particularly in the summer or during the winter before the hearth, prefer wearing only short breeches. Women wear their skirts.

276 177 Pipes are of various shapes. The bowl may be of iron, brass, pewter, or bone and the stem often consists of two halves held together by a leather binding. By loosening the leather strip the stem may be cleaned. A tobacco pipe made of mammoth ivory, the bowl and stem being of the same material, is shown in Fig. 44. To diminish the strength of the leaf tobacco and also for economy, the Yakut mix it with shredded poplar bark (*tiräx tatyrga*). They also adopted the custom of snuffing tobacco from the Russians. A wooden box for snuff may be seen in Fig. 45.

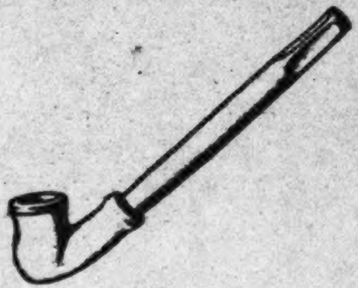

Fig. 44

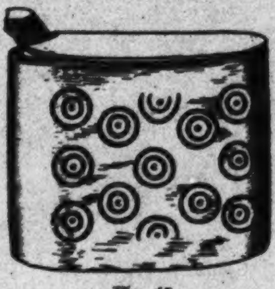

Fig. 45

Fig. 44 (70-9210). Pipe made of Mammoth Ivory.
Fig. 45 (70-8940). Wooden Snuff Box.

513 Bedding consists of a fur robe (mare, reindeer or bearskin) called *tälläx* and a blanket, *suorhan*. The blanket is sewed of hares' backs, legs, or heads or of white fox legs and tails. Poor people cover themselves with their fur coats and sleep on grass mats. Pillows are made of calico filled with bird down or feathers. Usually two people sleep under one blanket with their heads in opposite directions. (For the position of [511] sleeping places in the Yakut dwelling see p. 135)[1] A Yakut traveler usually carries his own bedding with him, for even rich people seldom own a sufficient quantity to accommodate transient guests.

152 My observations on the ability of the Yakut to endure severe cold may be of interest on this point. When spending the night in the open

[1] [cf. category 342 -- ANALYST]

which constitute a natural tempering medium. For this reason Yakut clay 323 lacks uniformity, its quality depending on its incidental composition.

In Fig. 49*b* is a tripod clay vessel (*ūs ataxtar‿buor bolčik*) for sour 531 milk. The legs show the tendency to reproduce horse's hoofs as in the 323 wooden kumiss vessels. The decoration of the rim consists of three parallel grooves circling the vessel made by a double notched wooden stamp (*kūös oyulūr mas*).

Another form has four rows of ornamental designs around the rim (Fig. 49*d*). In Fig. 51*a–d* may be seen two wooden stamps with which the vessel was decorated. Each design motive forms a single line on the pot. The cross design forms the fourth row and the same motive is put in another position in the first row. This is also true of the second and third rows, where they are sloped in the opposite direction. Two other stamps are carved on the opposite sides of the same stick (Fig. 51*b–c*).

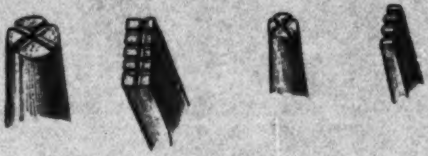

Fig. 51 (70-8593*ab*). Wooden Stamps for decorating Yakut Pottery.

A small clay pot is decorated with repetitions of five design units (Fig. 50*a*). The circles on the rim are like those on the lower row, only smaller. Each of the three inner rows of decoration represents a repetition of the same figure. The figures of the middle rows are so stamped that each design is placed opposite the intervals between designs of the upper and lower rows.

Fig. 50*b* represents a small clay pot with a lid. The decoration consists of circles, discs, and figures resembling the ends of keys with barbs. These motives are enlarged in Fig. 53. Four circles forming a cross are placed below the interval between each second disc.

A small clay pot ornamented with circles and the so-called backbone 177 ● designs on projecting ridges is shown in Fig. 50*c*. Both designs are also 323 shown enlarged in Fig. 53. The interior of a Yakut winter dwelling 531 illustrated in Fig. 52 shows clay pots on the hearth and a woman smoothing a new pot with a paddle. She holds a wooden ball inside the pot with her left hand to support the wall while the outside is smoothed. Some Yakut potters of the environs of the City of Yakutsk have learned from Russian potters both to add salt to the paste, making the pottery stronger, and also the art of glazing. The handles on the vessels illustrated in Fig. 49*a*, *c* as well as the spout to the tea pot (Fig. 49*a*) are made in imitation of Russian pottery.

At the market at Yakutsk I have seen white clay pottery made with 323
the potter's wheel. These wares were made by Russians. I could not 177
learn, however, the origin of the white clay.

The Yakut of the northern districts of Yakut Province, Verkhoyansk
and Kolymsk, of the lower course of the Lena, and of the villages on the 178
Olenek, Khatanga, and Anabara rivers, neither use pottery nor have any 538
knowledge of its manufacture, but utilize iron and copper utensils. It is 323
curious that they do not know that their southern relatives from whom
they separated about two hundred fifty years ago still use and make
pottery. This is surprising since there are passages in folk tales referring
to clay pots.

The fate of Yakut pottery demonstrates the possible differences in the sequence of development of culture. Among civilized nations the ceramic art has been perfected simultaneously with the development in the production and manufacture of metals. With the Yakut, as with other Siberian tribes, the opposite occurred. For instance, the present Kamchadal and Koryak do not know that their forefathers made pottery, but archaeological excavations[1] by the author on Kamchatka Peninsula and within the territory of the Koryak brought to light ancient specimens of their pottery. Compared with the Koryak and Kamchadal, however, the Yakut are relatively much more advanced in culture having, in the past, been affiliated with other civilized Turkic nations of southwestern Asia.

METALS

At present the Yakut are acquainted with iron, copper, bronze, 325
silver, gold, tin, and lead. All these metals, except tin and lead, still 171
retain their old Turkic names: iron, *timir;* copper, *altan*, red copper, *jas
altan*, yellow copper; brass, *üös altan* or *ürüñ altan;* bronze, *čyañ* (after
Sieroszevski); silver, *kõmüs* or *ürüñ kõmüs* (white *kõmus*); gold, *kysyl
kõmüs* (red silver); tin, *xolholyun;* lead, *sibinās, xolholyun* is a Mongol
word and *sibinas* a Russian word (*svinetz*).

Iron. Iron (*timir*) is historically and economically the most im- 174
portant metal among the Yakut who were acquainted with the reduction 325
of iron ores and iron manufacture before reaching their present abode.
There are no data to prove that they worked iron before they learned 172
the manufacture and use of copper, bronze, and other metals. In central
Siberia, on the Yenisei and Angara rivers, ancient sites have been discovered on which remains of the late neolithic period were found

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[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, Archaeological Investigations in Kamchatka (*Carnegie Institution of Washington*, No. 388, Washington 1928), 69-76.

326 413 [177] ● pairs of bellows are employed. Welding is not perfectly accomplished and traces of the process are visible. Nevertheless some native blacksmiths near Yakutsk have learned from Russian artisans the art of fluxing and tempering iron. From their own steel, they make files, axes, knives, spears, and other implements sufficiently hard, but they do not know how to forge springs. Until recently they did not know how to cut screws and to drill iron. Now they use Russian screw plates and the screw is called by the Russian name *bint* (in Russian *vint*) or *nuchasuola*, Russian path. Holes are pierced instead of being drilled. They do not know how to cast iron and call it by the Russian name, *djugun* (Russian, *chugun*). Knives made of native iron may be easily distinguished by their softness and flexibility from the hard knives of Russian manufacture.

It is of interest to note that the Tungus as well as the Yukaghir blacksmiths of Yakutsk Province now use the Yakut double bellows while the Tungus of the Okhotsk District use the single bellows of the Russians. The Tungus do not know how to obtain iron from ore and they forge Russian or Yakut iron rods.

411 *Weapons and Tools.* The bifurcated iron arrow point (*cȳra*) and the bifurcated bone arrow point (*muos cȳra*) are characteristic of the Yakut. The following are the iron weapons formerly used in war and hunting though at present they are restricted to hunting.

The *bolat*, an ancient iron sword, has a blade 14 cms. long, sharpened on one edge and curved in the direction of the point. The back is straight and thick, though somewhat thinner near the point. The sides are ornamented with engravings, inlaid with copper and brass. The name *bolat*, however, seems to be the ancient Russian word, *bulat*, for sword. The *bolat* has a short iron or bone handle.

The *batas* or war lance (Fig. 55*b*) has a blade about half a yard long; its greatest width is 1.5 inches. One edge is sharpened. The *batas* has a shaft of birch wood about 1.5 meters long. At present the *batas* is used in hunting bears. Like *bolat*, *batas* does not seem to be a Turkic word. It is known among the Russianized natives in Kamchatka and on the Kolyma River. I could not learn the original Yakut word for this weapon. The Yakut call a saber, *sābyla batas*, but *sābyla* is the Russian word (*sablya*) for saber.

412 A short, thick knife attached to a birch handle, *batyya*, the diminutive of *batas* is used in hunting and was formerly used in war. It was hung on the arm by a leather thong and regarded as a reserve weapon.

Of other Yakut iron implements the knife (*bysax*, from *bys*, to cut; Turkic, *bychak*) may be distinguished (Fig. 56*a*, *c*). It is not large, sel-

326 saying that it looks like copper. Silver plates for saddles are made by
301 smelting a thick plate and hammering it thin. The quality of their
531 silver varies. The best silver objects, the Yakut say, contain 50 per cent
415 of silver, the rest is copper and zinc. The Yakut do not know zinc, but
obtain it from imported Russian metallic ware, like latten-brass objects.

● [177] *Silver Objects.* A series of silver bracelets is illustrated in Fig. 61. Fig. 61*cd* is a pair of silver bracelets (*bŏhŏx*), showing the reverse and obverse, with the clasp fastened. A child's silver bracelets (*ohobŏhŏhō*) are engraved with symbolic representation of plants. On the large bracelets (Fig. 61*cd*) is also engraved a zigzag or finger ornament.

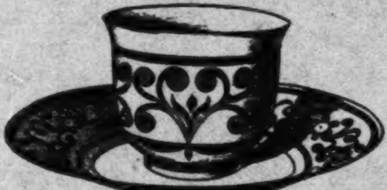
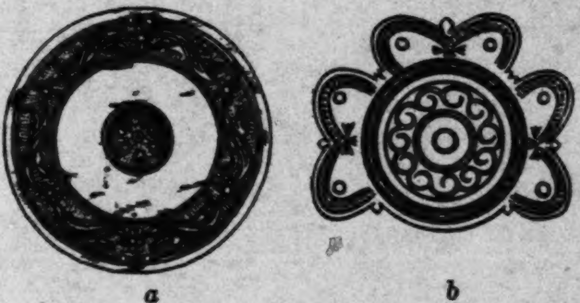


Fig. 62 (70-8669, 8670). A Silver Cup and Saucer with engraved Symbolic Representations of Plants.



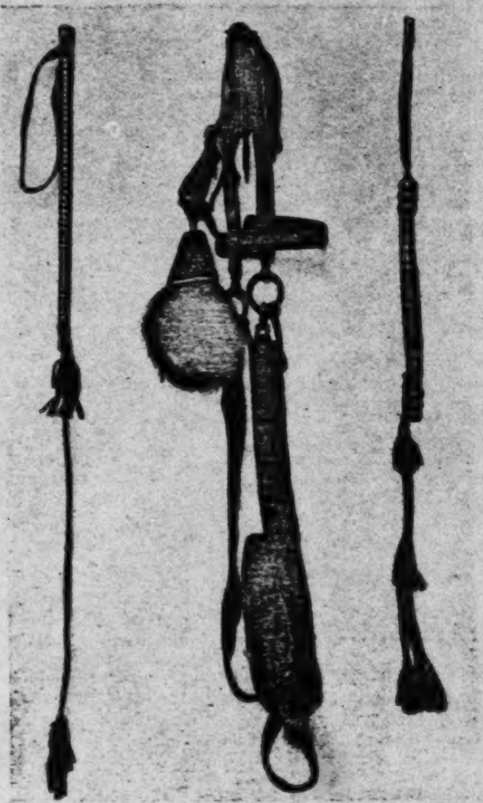
a *b*

Fig. 63*a*(70-8764), *b*(70-9139). Silver Ornaments. *a*, A decorated silver disc, part of the embellishment for a woman's cap; *b*, A silver belt buckle.

A silver cup and saucer, with engraved symbolic representations of plants is illustrated in Fig. 62. Under the upper rim and above the bottom of the cup are circles resembling twisted basketry fiber. The same pattern is repeated on the saucer. Both the cup (*chăsky*) and the saucer (*bŭlŭcha*) are called by distorted Russian names which are

actually: *chaska* and *bludéchko,* demonstrating that both vessels were 301
adopted from the Russians. On the other hand, all the wooden goblets 326
and other kumiss vessels have genuine Yakut-Turkic names. 531

Fig. 63*a* is a silver disc (*tusaxta*) used for the decoration of the front 177
of the top of a woman's fur cap. The engraved ornamentation represents 415



[282]

Fig. 64 *a* (70-9165), *b* (70-9139), *c* (70-8519). Riding Gear. *a, c,* Whips with silver ornamented handles; *b,* Silver ornamented bridle.

a symbolic plant pattern. In Fig. 63*b* is illustrated a silver belt buckle
called *biräskä*, the Yakut version of the Russian word, *pryáshka.* Of
interest is the central ornament consisting of connecting curves. 326

Two whips with handles ornamented in silver and a similarly 492
decorated bridle are illustrated in Fig. 64*a–c*. Whips so decorated are 531

S 795 797

ing a poor Yakut for money, but this incident did not come to the knowledge of the Russian administration.

S 795 231

Being vegetarians, the skoptsy kept horses for driving and farming and horned cattle for their milk and milk products. They kept birds for their eggs.

S 795 175 167 241

In 1904 the *skoptzy*, according to a manifesto from the Czar, were allowed to return to European Russia and, beginning in 1905, they started to leave Yakut Province, by villages. On their westward journey they told everywhere of their success in carrying on agriculture in Yakutsk Province. Many Russian peasants set out for Yakut Province to occupy the land of the *skoptzy*, but without their resources were unable to carry on their agricultural pursuits on the same scale

Y 241 175 177 ●

Yakut Agriculturists. The Yakut learned the technique of soil cultivation from the Russians from whom they also received seed. Their first sowing was in 1853 in the valley of the Maya River, thus it is only about seventy-five years since the native population became agriculturists. From that time, agriculture developed rapidly. In the first half of the eighteenth century about 400 to 450 acres were sown in Yakut Province; in 1891 over 16,000 acres, and in 1917, about 34,000 acres. It is interesting to note that three-fifths of the tilled land was cultivated by the Yakut.

Y 243

The proportion of cereal plants sown was and remains almost constant. In the period between 1917 and 1925 barley occupied first place (from 46 to 59 per cent of the cultivated land), then followed spring and winter rye (from 30 to 39 per cent), spring wheat (from 6 to 13.6 per cent) and oats (from 1 to 5 per cent).

Y 244

In addition to cereal plants, potatoes should be mentioned. In 1900–1910 these were grown on 700 acres. No other vegetables are cultivated by the Yakut. But Russians living in the suburbs of the cities grow many kinds of sweet herbs, onions, melons, watermelons, etc. The harsh winter of Yakutsk Province has its compensation in the warm summer, the abundant sunshine of its long clear days and the continentality of climate in general. Because of these climatic conditions, the possible period of plant growth is much shorter in Yakutsk Province (central and southern parts) than in countries lying much farther to the south. Thus the average maturation period for barley is seventy-one days, wheat, seventy-seven days, and spring rye, eighty days.

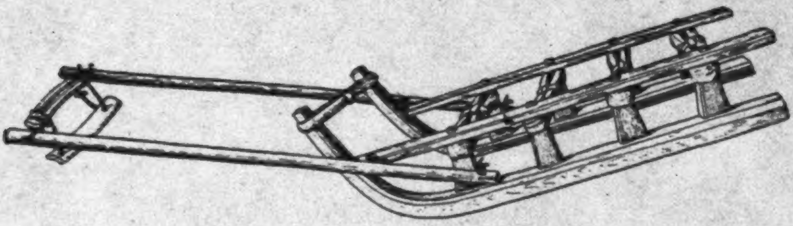
Y 241 412 407 177

Agricultural methods are still primitive. Some Yakut continue to use the iron spade for tilling. Few possess iron plows; harrows with iron instead of wooden teeth are a great luxury.

Fig. 77*a* shows a Yakut man and woman transporting a Yakut plow 241
on an ox-drawn sledge. The method of plowing may be seen in Fig. 407
77*b*. A model of an ox sledge is illustrated in Fig. 78. Even in summer it
is much easier to transport freight on sledges where there are no roads.

TRANSPORTATION

Outside the City of Yakutsk, the use of the wheeled cart, adopted 491
from the Russians, is very limited throughout the Province. Roads 494
suitable for wheeled transport are rare. They extend only 1036 kilo- 177 ●
meters: from Yakutsk to Viliuisk (600 km.) and from Viliuisk to Suntar
(436 km.). I myself had the opportunity to use a wheeled cart when
traveling from Yakutsk about sixty miles to the east to the Churupcha
settlement.



493

Fig. 78 (70-8832). Model of an Ox Sledge.

All the other roads are swampy and in summer were passable 492
only on horseback; even this means of transportation is very difficult, 505
particularly in the northern districts. In winter sledges are everywhere
drawn by horses; in the northern districts reindeer and dogs are also
used. Many Tungus, Lamut, and Yukaghir use the reindeer for riding,
particularly in the mountainous districts between the great rivers. In
summer small steamers ply the Lena and Viliui rivers. On the Yana,
Indighirka, and Kolyma rivers and their tributaries large boats are used
for carrying freight as well as for passengers. During the winter freight
carried on pack-horses or by reindeer sledges from the shores of the 492
Okhotsk Sea (Okhotsk, Yamsk, Ayan or Ola) over the mountains to the 501
upper course of the Kolyma River, is floated down on pontoon-like rafts
consisting of two large boats covered with a bridge. Such rafts are
provided with a rudder and are propelled with long poles. As they
cannot be poled up the river they are sold to the inhabitants of Nishne
Kolymsk, who make boats of different sizes from them. Recently I [505]
learned that a steamer coming through Bering Strait now visits Nishne
Kolymsk every summer, bringing flour and
other commodities for sale or exchange for
furs.

532 ●177 321 We present here some additional examples of Yakut carving in the Museum collection to show the crudity and rigidity of the execution of human and animal figures in bone or mammoth tusks despite the fact that the carvings were made by Yakut living near Yakutsk in imitation of Russian carvings and to meet the demands of Russians.

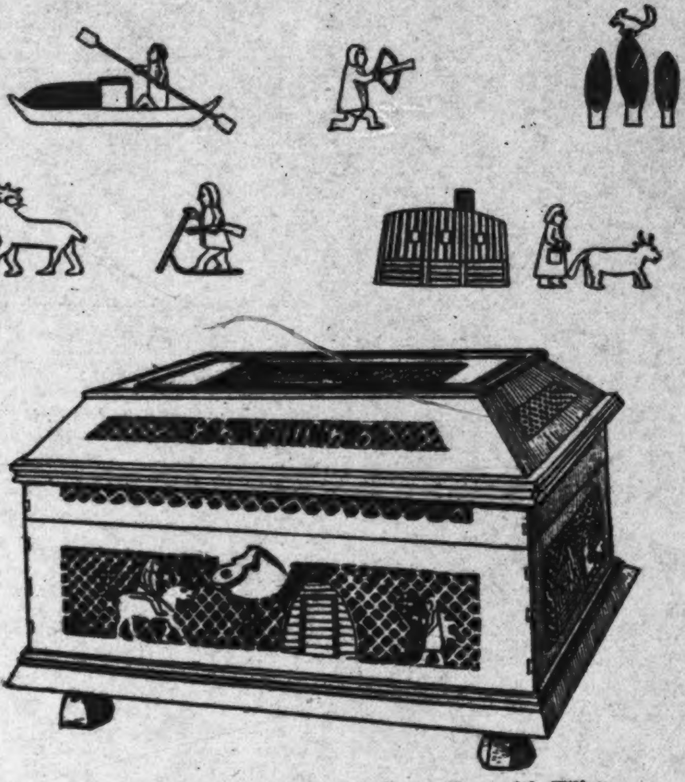


Fig. 84 (70-9382). A Mammoth Ivory Box with Filigree Carving and some Details of the Figures carved on the Opposite Side.

531 321 A box of mammoth ivory ornamented in filigree is shown in Fig. 84. On the front is depicted a Tungus riding a reindeer, a conical tent with its entrance door, and a hunter afoot carrying his staff and a dead fox on his back. Fig. 84 reproduces the figures carved on the other three sides of the box: a man paddling a boat with a covered place for passengers; an elk; a hunter on snowshoes carrying a staff and

Figs. 93*a–c* are called *tarāx oyū*, that is, comb ornament, and represent combs. 415 531

Figs. 93*d–e*, are called *ilim xaraha oyū*, that is, net's eyes ornament. They represent fish nets. The dots in Fig. 93*e* stand, most probably, for fish caught.

Figs. 93*f–g*, are called *āriyā oyū*, that is, wound ornament (from the verb *ārii*, to wind). They represent the weaving of baskets by winding thread around bunches of grass. The same rope-pattern on the birch-bark bucket, Fig. 99, which was made by winding horsehair thread round the hoop of the bucket, is called *āriyā tigi*, which means "twisted sewing."

Figs. 93*h–j* are called *urasa oyū*, that is, tent ornament. These zigzag patterns represent the large conical birchbark summer tents of the Yakut. The same pattern embroidered in thread or sinew on skin bags is called *urasaly tigi*, that is, tent embroidery.

Fig. 93*n* is called *kybytya oyū*, that is, wedge ornament (from the verb *kybyt*, to force in), and represents a wooden wedge for splitting wood.

Fig. 93*o* is called *timāx tördö oyū*, which means button-base ornament. This pattern, consisting of a series of three or four inscribed diamonds, used to be embroidered on the old-time clothing of the Yakut, at the places where the buttons were sewed on.

Fig. 93*w* is called *kärdis oyū*, that is, notched ornament, and represents the primitive Yakut writing by means of notches on sticks.

Figs. 93*b′–c′* are called *kohuor oyū*, that is, kumiss skin bag ornament, and represent large hide kumiss vessels.

It is of interest to note that all the patterns so far mentioned are of a purely decorative character, have no connection with religious ideas, and consist not alone of the simple units but of their highly harmonious and extremely symmetrical repetition.

532 787 Neither in the engraving and carving on the wooden kumiss vessels, nor in the embroidery on the leather and birchbark containers, do we find any realistic representation of animals or objects. Realistic art was evidently unknown in the past. The old-time Yakut considered it a sin for any one except shamans to carve human figures from wood. The shamans carve these figures roughly of wood, to represent guardians or evil spirits, for use in religious ceremonies, and they are not regarded as harmless to ordinary folk. I saw figures of cows and horses carved from wood or birchbark, to be used by children as playthings, but there were never any dolls. Some Yakut, living not far from the Russian town of Yakutsk, carve, among other things, human figures from ivory; but I consider this to be a rather inartistic imitation of the carvings of the neighboring tribes. [177] ●

The kumiss goblets are usually decorated by engraving the pattern on the even surface of the vessel. But we also find patterns carved in relief; for instance, the net motive previously mentioned may be found in relief on the goblets shown in Fig. 91. Some patterns in relief (see Fig. 93k) have a common name, *tomtorgò oyū*, meaning simply relief ornament, and referring only to the style of carving, and not to the pattern meaning.

415
531
177 ●

Figs. 93*z–a'*, which include conventionalized plants, are called *usuor oyū*. The word *usuor* is borrowed from the Russian word *uzor* (in Polish *wzor*), which means pattern. The patterns too are evidently borrowed from Russian decorative motives.

In the same way, judging from the names, the linear ornaments of Fig. 93*x–y*—the first called *duobat oyū*, and the second *saxymat oyū*—must be regarded as borrowed from the Russian. *Duobat* is the old Russian word *doved* (at present *shashka*), which means the game of draughts; and *saxymat*, which is the Russian word *shakhmat*, means chess.

7: Shklovsky -- 44-46 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut-1-2

116, 114, 177

"During six centuries the Yakuts were successively conquered by other races, and their extraordinary vitality alone saved them from extinction. Moreover, the Yakuts are the only settlers in the North who increase in numbers. But their condition of chronic subjection did not reflect advantageously upon their moral qualities, which are very bad. Reclus, who so well describes the polar races, gives the Yakuts the very worst of characters, but this eminent geographer was only partly right. The description applies only to the Yakuts of the Olekminsk region, who are in constant association with the Russians. Reclus' opinion was also held by [45] Vrousevitch, who wrote a most interesting article, 'The Civilisation and Life of the Inhabitants of the Yakutsk Region.' Judge for yourself of the psychological condition of a people treated as shown by the following sayings:

'You can make a friend of a Yakut only by flogging him.'

'Yakuts respect most those who treat them worst'.

These specimens of brutal philosophy are related by the American citizen, Gilder, as being the utterance of Ispravnik Varrava. Gilder further relates that once this man, being anxious to travel more quickly to a station 250 versts distant wished to take some deer which did not belong to him. The Yakuts naturally were unwilling to give them, since their owners would lose eight days' work just for the sake of obliging the ispravnik.

'A loud and lively conversation ensued,' writes Gilder, 'of which to my regret I could

7: Shklovsky -- 44 -46 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut -2
116, 114, 177

not understand a word, but when I saw the ispravnik suddenly strike a Yakut with his fist and our Cossack at the same time lasso another who was trying to run away, I thought it my duty to ask the ispravnik whether I should begin to beat someone and, if so, on whom should I begin? He answered me that everything was all right and that the people were now obedient and "well disposed."' Unfortunately this was the only method employed to make the people 'well disposed'. Official visits are long remembered by the Yakuts! Here is a little sketch from the diary of a Bishop of Yakutsk: 'The Yakut drivers waited for their master [46] for fourteen days, and where? In the forest, under the open sky, in November with 46° R. of frost! They dug a hole in the snow, in which they placed logs, and made a fire to warm themselves.'"

7: Shklovsky -- 46 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 177, 574, 577

"Cunning, lying, and theft, these undesirable traits of character in the Yakut are in exact proportion to the amount of contact they have with their conquerors. The Yakuts from distant camps and those who live in camps near the towns, and are in contact with the transported settlers there, form two quite distinct races, so greatly do their characteristics differ. Hospitality is one of the good qualities of the Yakuts. Each passer-by enters at any time any hut he likes, thanks to the custom of keeping the doors unfastened. In the huts the 'best place', the seat along the eastern side of the wall, is kept free for visitors and the host offers to them the best he has in the hut. The poor Yakut frequently has only field mice for food, but for the guest he reserves a piece of horseflesh of hare. Sometimes the Yakuts who live on the highway are absolutely ruined by the generous hospitality they show to passers-by.

The Yakutian character should be studied in some far distant camp which has never been visited by transported settlers, traders, or the official having the methods and principles described by Gilder."

7: Shklovsky -- 68-69 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 825, 177

"About 230 versts from Sredne Kolymsk there is the enormous Pomasskin. On the top of the mountain, among the wild-rose bushes, there were about twenty graves nearly level with the ground, one of them distinguished by a big, bent pole, half decayed by time. These were the famous 'graves of twenty Russians' of which I had heard when I started from Yakutsk. [69]

'Who were they?' I asked the old Yakut Moksogol (his Russian name was Nicholai), who lived at the bottom of the cliff.

'The snow has fallen many times since that happened,' he began. 'Some Russian soldiers came and wanted to build a town on the mountain. They began to fish, and they caught a sturgeon. But, my friend, it was a strange sturgeon, for it had only one eye, and that was on its forehead. 'Oh, comrades,' said one old man, 'do not eat it, or some evil will happen.' But they laughed. They cooked and ate the sturgeon and lay down to rest, but only the old man rose up again, for he had not eaten of the fish; all the others were dead. They are buried here, and this pole marks the grave of their chief.'

What are these graves? Whence came the people who lie buried in this most desolate spot? How can the Yakuts know such a word as 'soldier' when throughout the entire region there are no military? To all these questions I can only reply that I do not know."

7: Shklovsky -- 225 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 177, 563

"The Russian drivers in some villages have become almost entirely like the Yakuts among whom they live. They have narrow, slanting eyes, broad cheekbones, and hairless faces; and of Russian they know only a few words.

But ask your driver if he is a Yakut.

'No , I am Russian,' he will reply, with offended dignity.

The children of these settlers do not differ in any way from Yakuts."

9: Stadling--91-92 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 177, 243

"The culture of cereals has only of late years been introduced among the Yakuts by the Russians, especially the 'Skoptsi' and other sectarians. Instead of flour they formerly used the juicy part of the bark of the pine and different kinds of roots. Half a century ago no one believed it would be possible to cultivate cereals in Yakutsk. In the first experiments the crops were frost-bitten, but by-and-by the corn became acclimatised, and now in favor- [92] able years good crops are secured. In the short space of two months from sowing, thanks to the usually hot summers, the grain ripens and is harvested. In the neighbourhood of the city of Yakutsk are thus grown barley, oats, wheat, potatoes and even water-melons! "

9: Stadling--93 [2] E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 177, 191, 873.

"Generally speaking, they are a gifted people, and some of their number have gone through the university and become learned men. But their thirst for knowledge cannot be satisfied in the few official schools, where the teaching is given in Russian. After three or four years' study in these schools they know only a smattering of the language, which they soon forget."

9: Stadling--96 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771, 781

"At the present day the Yakuts are often married in churches according to the orthodox ritual, and they also bury their dead in the Russian manner. For the last hundred years they have been nominally members of the othodox Church, and very often make the sign of the Cross, but in their inmost hearts they have stronger faith in the power of the Shaman over the evil spirits than in the dogmas of the Church, of which they know but little. Indeed, not only the Yakuts, but even the Russians themselves — the officials, too, among the number—apply to the Shaman to heal their diseases, drive away evil spirits, and predict coming events."

10: Bush--160-161 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 177, 101, 133

"The Yakouts inhabit that large extent of country lying in the interior west of the town of Okhotsk, and on the Lena River, where is a city called Yakoutsk, of about 15,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom are Yakouts. This city was founded in the year 1632 by the Russians, and has ever since been one of the most prominent Russian towns in Eastern Siberia. It contains a number of good buildings, and is the [161] centre of a very large trade in furs, for which nearly all domestic articles are given in exchange. It is the principal emporium of this whole section, and is connected by government post-roads with Irkoutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia; Colema, on or near the Arctic; Ajan and Okhostsk, and, by way of the latter, with all of Kamtchatka. Most of the Yakouts, from constant intercourse with the Russians, speak the Russian language, and have adopted their manners, customs, and religion."

10: Bush--161 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 291, 177

"Their dress is peculiar to themselves, being a mixture of that worn by the humbler Russians and the skin garments of the wilder tribes. This comprises a large gray cloth overcoat made after the Russian pattern, well-tanned buckskin, beautifully tanned without the fur, of neat design, and tastefully ornamented. The latter are made to fit the foot snugly, and at the toe arch over the foot like the bow of a skate. The legs are large and comfortable, except at the ankle, and reach to the knee, the tops folding down on the outside for several inches, and bordered with a wide band of black or colored cloth. A welt of this cloth is also sewed in all the seams. At the ankle two very long and broad strips of buckskin are fastened, to be woumd snugly around the leg, half way up to the knee, as a support. These give a very trim appearance to the boot. The Yakouts have small feet, and take especial pride in being well booted."

10: Bush--162 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 177, 576, 272

"According to Russian custom, the samovar was immediately produced, and excellent hot tea served, but our hosts refused to partake until we had finished, notwithstanding oft-repeated requests on our part that they should do so."

10: Bush--300 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771,

"The Russians were a long time in conquering them, but, since that event, they have adopted the Russian language, customs, and religion, and are quite devout, though many of them still retain a lingering belief in shamanism."

11: Lansdell--299 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 142, 177, 181

"In the centre of the Yakutsk province, occupying the valley of the Lena, roam the Yakutes, some of whom I met as far off as Nikolaefsk. They are of middle height, and of a light copper colour, with black hair, which the men cut close. The sharp lines of their faces express indolent and amiable gentleness rather than vigour and passion. They reminded me of North American Indians; and I agree with Erman, who says that their appearance is that of a people who have grown wild rather than of a thoroughly and originally rude race. Those I saw, however, having been long settled among the Russians, had perhaps become somewhat more polished than their wandering brethren. As a race they are good-tempered, orderly, hospitable, and capable of enduring great privation with patience; but in independence of character they contrast unfavourably with their Tunguse neighbours. Lay a finger in anger on one of the Tunguses, and nothing will induce him to forget the insult; whereas with the Yakutes, the more they are thrashed the better they work.* [RCH: For text of footnote see category 116, pp. 299-300.]"

11: Lansdell--305 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 114, 177, 756, 797

"Strahlenberg calls these people Pagans, but the latest writers call them Christians; and the method of their conversion was, it is said, extraordinary, for the Russian priests not making much headway against their superstitions, an ukase was one day issued setting forth that the good and loyal nation of the Yakutes were thought worthy to enter, and were consequently admitted into, the Russian Church, to become a part of the Tsar's Christian family, and entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his children. Such was the tenor of this strange proclamation, and success attended the measure. The new Christians showed perfect sincerity in the adoption of their novel faith, and the Russian priests have established their sway over the Yakute race, though amongst the outlying portion a lingering belief in Shamanism still survives, of which travellers from Yakutsk to Okhotsk have been made aware by their Yakute guides leaving them awhile in foggy weather, and stealing off into the forest to perform certain mysterious rites."

14: Krauss--166-167 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 177, 182, 756, 771, 776

Besides the mentioned points, Shaman medicine, fortune-telling, and the like, have had a constant influence on everyday life, and certain compromises with Christianity could not fail to [167] develop. Christianity has more or less been adopted by the majority of the Yakuts; it has undergone some changes under the influence of the "ancient faith" followers. As the theoretical part of the former creed has no immediate point of friction with real life, it has survived in a much more considerable degree, in the form of various traditions.

Thus, the former deities have been changed into devils, or spirits of darkness, under the influence of shaman mystery ceremonies. This is the same sort of metamorphosis which our rusalki, lesije, or domovje, or among the Greeks: Pan, have undergone by lending their appearance to the devil of the Christian faith.

These remarks will be sufficient to clear up certain divergences between the shamans' activity and the well attested information on the original religious doctrines of the Yakuts.

14: Krauss--167 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771, 793

In the Yakut district all Yakuts with rare exceptions have been baptized according to the 'ancient faith' [RCH: *i. e.*, Christianity] rite, or were born from parents of that faith. Yet one can hardly be sure that a Yakut, professing the ancient faith, has given up his shamanist creed, or that he does not have recourse to the latter. I have personally known two shamans, one of them in the Yakutsk district, the other on the Kytach island on the mouth of the Lena, who were both known as followers of the 'ancient faith.[

The aborigines seldom have an opportunity to see a priest of the ancient faith. In view of the enormous extension of the parishes, of the scattered settlements, and of the extraordinary difficulties in securing communications, he is hardly in a position to see each member of his faith once a year; and if he visits him in one of the settling-places he may not stay longer than two or three days because he must be through with his travel as long as the paths and roads are practicable. One may safely estimate that eight per cent of the aborigines population has never seen a Christian church. His eminency, the former Yakut bishop Dionysius even told me that sometimes priests had died without having communicated, leaving a written confession of sins.

No wonder, therefore, that the aborigines who are considered as Christians and place the image of a saint in the front corner of their tents which is adorned with wax candles nevertheless approach their shamans in order to satisfy their religious needs.

14: Krauss--167-168 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 177, 557, 624, 771, 829

It is difficult to admit that the autochthonous Yakut who is so conservative in all his customs and convictions and has not changed his manners and way of life during the centuries, should have yielded so easily in his religious belief. If the Yakut professes the Christian faith because the ruling class professes it and would not sanction the election of a delegate in the village community other than orthodox, and because only for Christians there is a chance to get once a decoration [168] (medal) from that white Tsar, who somewhere, very far, lives in a tent of glass, and, sitting on a gigantic tabouret of sugar, sucks sugar unceasingly--if, I repeat, the Yakut poses as a Christian in order to become the boss of those who surround him, such practical considerations do by no means convince him that it is necessary to give up his shamanism and to approach the latter faith as soon as he feels prompted; particularly because he will not find a similar satisfaction in Christian belief.

14: Krauss--176 [3] E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 756, 766, 532, 177

When a male or female shaman dies, the corpse is wrapped up in a kuma and put in a piece of wood. At the head a wooden image is put which is supposed to represent a falcon; at the feet a cuckoo, and at either hip an idol which is to indicate that the spirits carry the soul of the shaman away into their realm. The shaman's corpse is not buried, but exposed on high posts at a free place, or on a tree. Such a place is called chorcach.

I succeeded in finding such a grave in the northern part of Verchojan, and in getting hold of iron parts of the decomposed kuma. As a rule the defunct gets his best garment, sometimes also some furs and a cap. A pipe and a tobacco-pouch is put in his hands; at his feet he has a wooden dish with a meal. In some of the graves I found several iron tools which the defunct had used in manufacturing chamois leather out of deer skin; furthermore bows with arrows, and spears for bear-hunting. According to Pripuzov's statements, the Christian funeral custom is beginning to become familiar also with the shamans.

16: Great Britain Admiralty --163-164 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 162, 177

"Including the Dolgans, they are computed at 226,739, of whom 113,330 are males. Their marriages are fertile, with an average of about ten to a family, but less productive as one goes north. They are increasing in numbers and absorb a large number of Russian settlers, who learn their language and adopt their customs."

16: Great Britain Admiralty --164 - 165 G-3 (no date)1920 Yakut
116, 142, 177, 301

"The Yakuts differ from one another in physique more than any other Turkic or Mongol people. Those that are well-off and can get enough to eat are from 5 ft. 10 ins. to 6 ft. tall: they are well-proportioned with good chest-measurement, and are robust [165] and active; but in the north, owing to severity of climate and badness of food, we find a very different type: they are below medium height, with a sickly complexion, and unlike most Yakuts, are indolent. Ordinarily they are thick-set, robust, and muscular. They have black wiry hair, which the men cut close to the head, except the Shamans who grow it long and tie it up behind, dark and elongated eyes, broad flat noses, narrow foreheads, small round heads (the men's faces are long, the women's oval), little beard. The women are somewhat ungainly, and do not add to their attractions by the paint and excessive ornament that they affect, and the adoption of European costume still further diminishes their charms."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 167 G-3 (no date), 1920 Yakut
116, 177, 291

"The Yakuts are capable of standing extreme cold, and are found going about in very light attire in winter, while their children sport naked in the snow. Their costume differs less in the various seasons than that of other Siberian peoples. Those who live in the Okhotsk region have partly adopted Russian costume, and partly retained the native dress —the kukhlyanka and tarbass. They also wear the sarafan (a long overcoat without sleeves), but not the ornamented cloak (made of fur of special cut) and the beaver cape, of which their compatriots in the Yakutsk region are so proud. Their breeches come only down the thigh, and they have long boots (farri) which come above the knee. Their summer-dress is the robashka (overshirt) and balachon (blouse); in winter they wear costumes of skins. The women are adept in making up fur-garments. Their dress only differs from that of the men by its greater length and ornamentation."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 168 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 177, 582, 836, 614

"The clans consist of blood relations. Their marriages are exogamous, but the influence of their neighbours, the Yukaghir, has led the Artic Yakuts to introduce endogamous marriage, and the frequent sexual relations that take place before marriage are always endogamous."

17: Erman--265 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 224, 411

"The ermine-traps, which the Yakuts of Delgeisk showed me, prove that, at some time or other, important traditions have found their way from Obdorsk to this part of the Lena. They corresponded perfectly with the yugel, as they are called, or self-shooting bows, which I found in use for the same purpose in Kunduvansk; the only difference being that the opening for the ermine is circular in the Ostyak trap, and square in that of the Yakuts. It cannot be assumed that two inventors, independently of each other, hit upon the same mechanical contrivance, which is by no means simple."

17: Erman--269-270 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 563, 177

"In the clothing of adults, there is manifested a strong predilection for bright colours, for the women in the house, as among the Buraets, wore clothes of green or other bright Chinese stuffs; while the men had on tight-fitting, short frocks, which closely resembled [270] the esquires' tabards in the middle ages. They were almost always made of white linen, with blue borders. At the lower end, behind, was a perpendicular slit, to prevent their incommoding on horseback. Even the fur caps of these people were covered with white linen, and adorned with squirrels' tails, and other black furs.

The few Russians who live at these stations to superintend the post, speak nothing but Yakutian among themselves, and are distinguishable from the indigenous population only by their greater length of face, their fairer complexion, and the comparative poverty of their clothing."

17: Erman--274 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 212

"He [RCH: ie., a Yakut chief in Ulakhansk] assured me that the writing of the Buraets was quite unknown here, and that before the arrival of the Russians the people had no idea of written characters. Consequently, all written communications to the Yakuts are made in the Russian language and writing."

17: Erman--300-301 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 412, 301, 174, 531

"Long before the Russians came here, the other tribes of Yakuts got from those at Vilui iron axes, awls, and tools for stripping and dressing the hides; together with copper ornaments for their clothes and harness and the metal plates which they, like the Ostyaks, sew on their girdles. But even now when they [301] make use of European guns, every man among them still exercises the skill peculiar to the nation, in making the great knife, or dagger, which is carried under the sanayakh at the waistband. The Yakutian steel is easily distinguished from the Russian, by its being somewhat flexible; and yet blades made of it will cut copper and pewter as easily as the best European blades. The wooden handle of the knife is always ornamented, after the original fashion, with tin work; from which it is evident that they procured the materials from Nerchinsk, before the Russians knew any thing of the metals in that quarter. They cut figures in the wood, and cast the tin into the hollow; a large knob of the metal left at the top of the knife-handle, is then shaped with the chisel. The sheaths of these Yakutian daggers are made of birch bark, and covered with black leather, on which, again, are metal mountings, with straight-lined patterns engraved on them. I had occasion, once before, to mention some decisive proofs of the influence which the Siberians of the furtherst north exercised on the civilizations of the Yakuts. Here, on the other hand, certain handicrafts, characteristic of nomadic life, and, above all, the art of working metals, evidently point to a connexion with the tribes at present inhabiting the southern steppes and mountains. The physical character, also, and language of the Yakuts decide in favour of the same view."

17: Erman--301-302 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 197

"It cannot by any means be maintained, that the Yakuts have received the better part of their civilization, at some time or other, from Mongolian neighbours; their names for the Deity, for iron, and the other metals, (excepting the tin of the Buraets,) for their fishing gear, &c. are all pure Turkish. They call the intoxicating and distilled drinks made from milk, by the same names as the Turkish Tatars. The Yakutian term aruigui, which is the name for brandy, common to all the Turks, from which also is derived our European word arrak, is used also, indeed, by the Buraets [302] and some other Mongolian tribes; but yet it seems to be, in its origin, the property of the Turkish race, with whom it does not stand isolated, but in connexion with the names of other kindred objects. This is the case with the Yakuts, with whom the word aruigui, or milk brandy, is a modification of, or derived from, arui, cow-butter."

17: Erman--303 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 674, 152, 177

"In the neighbourhood of the Russians, the original good nature of the Yakuts has been adulterated with a great deal of vanity, and some covetousness. Crimes, though still rare among them, are no longer quite unheard of. When I was staying in the town, a man was murdered in the street, while returning to a yurt in the neighbourhood. Another Yakut came forward to say that he had found the dead body, but the day after he confessed that he was the murderer, and that his sole object was to get the dead man's money."

17: Erman--306 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 437

"The snow had already melted in the streets of Yakutsk during the last few days; I found it necessary, therefore, to get all our luggage packed on oxen before our door, and carried to the bank of the Lena. There it was stowed, with much trouble, in the sledges, two ofwhich I intrusted to the superintendence of the Kosaks. The borders of the river are here quite flat, and the icy surface, four versts wide, on which we travelled, could hardly be distinguished from the plain on the right bank. On this, we first met with some Yakutian yurts, with German names! They are called yarmonskiya, that is, the yurts of the yearly market (jahrmarktliche) or fair, because the Russian merchants meet here in summer, and begin their journey to Okhotsk by bartering with the Yakuts of the neighbourhood."

17: Erman--330-331 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 306, 171, 177, 524

"When the work was finished, the girls began to employ themselves in the yurt with the business of decoration. In an elaborately made box of birch-bark they had treasured up some studs of brass and lead, beads, and old brass springs. These last were cut into small pieces, and strung with the studs and beads so ingeniously, that a very pretty ornament for the head was made with very poor materials. The Yakut had lent the girl his assistance in making this band, at her earnest request. I was more surprised at another of their amusements, respecting which, however, I subsequently learned, that it is much in vogue with all the Yakuts and Tunguzes. (1) A pack of cards, so much worn out as to be hardly recognisable, was brought to light from a corner of the yurt. They played, two at a time, in turns, with-[331] out any stake, but very eagerly. The Russian names of the cards are those used here."

1. The Tunguzes, in the circle of Koluimsk, are passionately fond of chess. They carve the chessmen very elaborately out of mammoth's teeth. These northern nomades probably received their acquaintance with this game, and taste for others, from China at a very early period.

18: Priklonski--82-83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-1-2
116, 177, 764, 767, 825

The grave, grave structure, or grave-mound is made by the kjuvess. Various forms have survived to the present time:

a) in a forest trees with many branches are chosen which form a short-sided quadrangle. At a height of two or three yards above the ground some horizontal timbers are laid on the trees; and upon these timbers the hollow trunk with the corpse is put. Such a burial place is known as Arangàs. In cases of emergency the hollow trunk is replaced by a rough chest.

b) in those areas where there are few or no woods corpses are put on the ground [83] in a trough made of birch bast or a hollow lodje [RCH: i.e., wooden boats] (vytka), and covered with boards. The rainstorms of the spring and melting snow flood those vytkas unless they have been destroyed before by common and stone foxes and other animals living on corpses.

c) To avoid this, in the northern part of the area the chest with the corpse is set on wooden pegs which rise a little above the ground. The corners of the grave are also adorned with wooden stork figures, a bird which enjoys particular veneration on the part of the shamans. The stork helps the souls of the dead to rise to heaven, the abode of the good spirits.

d) The last sort of dealing with a corpse is burial in the ground. With spade and pick-axe a hole, rarely more than one or one and a half yards deep, is dug. The ground in the

18: Priklonski--82-83 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut-2
116, 177, 764, 767, 825

Yakut area does not thaw deeper than half a yard; in the Lena delta it is only the moss which then is dotted with small pools, at the bottom of which is perpetual ice. The custom of burying the dead in the ground is certainly due to Christian influence. This is suggested by the fact that carved crosses with oil paint are put on those graves. The hole is then enclosed in a fence.

18: Priklonski--83 [2] E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 769

Before the rise of Christianity the Yakuts did not know of celebrations to honor the memory of a dead person, and even now they are still careful to avoid graves and burial places. In the neighborhood of the village of Kazačje near the mouth of the Yana river I had an opportunity to see the burial place of a shaman on trees, ten versts from inhabited houses. The trip to the burial place was very difficult to make. I could hardly persuade the people to give me reindeer and a guide. The coffin chest was entirely broken through the influence of weather conditions. Inside, I still found the head of the corpse with the hair; the other bones had probably been carried away by quadrupedes and birds. The small metal plates and jewelry I found both in the fragments of the chest and on the ground, and which were rests of ornaments from the dress, indicated that the defunct was a shaman as far as his rank is concerned; a hat buckle such as are worn by women made it probable that it had been a female shaman.

19: Kharuzin -- 37 [2]   E-4   (no date) 1898   Yakut
116, 177, 671

N. P. Pripuzov gathered his material among the Yakuts living in the Yakutsk district, i. e., in the midst of that part of the Yakut tribe among whom we may rightly expect to encounter some traces of the action of Russian customary and legislative norms upon the customary law of the Yakuts. All the more interest attaches to the norms of the Yakut customary law noted by the compiler, which, despite the long association of the Yakuts with the Russians, have survived as a valuable vestige of the ancient familial-clan foundations. But no less interest attaches to certain juridical customs, communicated by the compiler, which have been worked out by the Yakuts under the obvious influence of the Russians; the structure of Yakut life is changing its aspect; the new conditions of life which are coming to birth demand new norms for their satisfaction. The latter are sometimes borrowed from Russian neighbors, come into contradiction with the bases of the ancient life and undergo certain changes under the influence of the archaic views on legal relations.

19: Kharuzin -- 52-53 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-I-2
116, 177, 584, 585

The authority of the parental power is so strong, that despite the fact that marriages are entered upon against the will of the parties involved, cases of secret marriage without the agreement and knowledge of the parents, or the persons acting in their place if the parties involved are orphans, are not encountered among the Yakuts, according to the investigator (Pripuzov). But the influence of Christianity has made itself felt in the fact that if the principals in the marriage are opposed to the arrangement, they can so declare [53] at the wedding ceremony, which is sometimes held considerably later than the Yakut nuptials, (1) which are sometimes held before the couple have come of age,

1. Mr. Pripuzov supplies us with little information concerning wedding rites. The parents of the young couple play the leading role during the wedding. If the young couple are orphans, without mother or father, the place of the parents is taken by the chief. The young couple are supposed to treat him with the respect accorded parents during the wedding. According to Mr. Pripuzov, there are no special rites connected with match-making, with the visit of the bridegroom to the bride, and with the rukobitye (literally: hand-shake signifying the conclusion of agreement). In connection with the arrival of the bride to the house of the bridegroom the following is observed: the wedding procession has to come to the bridegroom's yourta early in the

19: Kharuzin -- 52-53 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-2
116, 177, 584, 585

morning, at sunrise. If the bride comes from a rich family, she rides on a light colored horse. A silver coin is attached to the halter of the horse. The bride gives this coin to one of the young men at the hitching post who seizes the horse's bridle and helps the bride to descend. The father-in-law comes out with an icon and, while the first match-maker holds the icon, he blesses the bride. Afterwards, the bride enters the yourta and there the ceremony of bringing offerings to the hearth is performed by the oldest member of the family. The bridegroom acquires the right to take his bride to his house only after he has paid the kalym, the price of which depends on previous agreement and the wealth of his parents.

if the bride price has been paid in full. In general, the payment of the bride price gives the bridegroom the right to the bride; therefore in the event of a refusal to wed on the part of the bridegroom, after the payment of the whole or a part of the bride price, the bridegroom or his parents do not have the right to demand the return of the expended money; on the other hand, if the refusal comes from the bride, her parents must make up all outlays on the part of the bridegroom.

19: Kharuzin -- 57 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-1-2
116, 177, 421, 597, 848

Not all the property, however, is subject to division: a part of it remains in the general possession of the co-heirs (fishing-seines, fenced-off pastures etc.). In additon, before proceeding to the division, a special part of the general property is put aside to cover debts or tax delinquencies. It is natural that an adopted son, (1) taken into a house where there are no sons, should be the heir to the movable and immovable property of

1. The parents of the adopted child, having given it away to a strange family, sometimes want it back; in that case they are obliged to pay to the adoptive father all the costs of raising the child. Under the influence of the Russians, the Yakuts have begun to display a scornful attitude toward illegitmates. Formerly, when freedom of relations prevailed, illegitimate children were not differentiated from legitimate. At present there is even a special proverb among the Yakuts concerning the illegitimate children: "born was he by night, christened by the pool's side, the dew was his bedding, the mist was his covering." Children born out of wedlock to a sister who lives with her brothers, upon the death of the father are considered, in the words of Mr. Priklonski Tri Goda v I͡Akutskoi oblasti (Three Years in the Yakutsk Region, p. 80) "to have full rights and inherit in shares the property belonging to their mother."

19: Kharuzin -- 57 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-2
116, 177, 421, 597, 848

the adoptive father, since adoption is ordinarily resorted to with the object of having an heir. Mr. Pripuzov does not enlighten us as to the position of adopted sons in the presence of sons who are heirs, not as to that of illegitimate children, who are sometimes adopted.

19: Kharuzin -- 57-58 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-1-2
116, 177, 428, 594, 614, 763

Obviously under the influence of the Russians, the practice of drawing up written testaments had developed among the Yakuts. But the rights of the testator to dispose of his property are circumscribed by the interests of his clan, which in certain instances may not recognize the testament as valid. At the present time the Yakuts make both written and oral testaments, which deal with the division of property among the heirs. In general, it seems, the Yakuts formerly loved and still love to make dispositions before their death. When a Yakut feels the approach of death, writes Mr. Shchukin, for example, he summons the heirs and enjoins them to continue their acquaintance with such and such a one, to beware of another, to take revenge on still another; in detail he exposes the reasons, and the heirs will not utter nor forget [58] a single word, and when their turn comes to die, they will pass the testament on to their heirs. On the basis of these oral dispositions made at the time of death, it was easy to take to the custom, borrowed from the Russians, of written testaments. The contemporary Yakut regards the written and oral testament with the same respect. The signature of a priest is considered quite sufficient for the first, whereas the presence of heirs and relatives is required for the second type of testament. The Yakuts do not have executors.

The rights of the testator to dispose of the property are extremely circumscribed: the testament itself is in the last analysis chiefly a precaution against quarrels over the division of the property.

19: Kharuzin -- 57-58 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-2
116, 177, 428, 594, 614, 763

It is precisely this consideration that is held by Prince Kostrov Ocherk i͡uridicheskoe byta I͡Akutov (Juridical Customs of the Yakuts, p. 286), to be one of the chief reasons for the development among the Yakuts of the custom of making an oral testament. "Each Yakut knows well that if he should die without a detailed distribution of his property among the members of the family, it would give rise to endless and destructive quarrels among them, and therefore oral testaments among the Yakuts are very customary. Feeling the approach of death or simply finding himself very ill, before all the members of the family the Yakut makes a detailed assignment, what share and precisely what is to be given to the wife, to the sons, daughters, foster-children. When he speaks of the cattle he even cites their color."

24: Wrangell--39 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 342, 354

"The above-described habitations [RCH: the Yakutian yourts or jurti; see category 116, p. 38], though rude, are better adapted to the wants of the people than those built after the Russian fashion, a few of which are to be seen. In the construction of the jurti small trees may be used instead of boards, which is a great convenience; while the open fire in the tschuwal, by keeping up a continual change of air, is far more conducive to health than the close stove."

24:Wrangell--39 [3] G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 771, 779

"The Jakuti have almost all been baptized; but, though a part of the New Testament, the Ten Commandments, and several of the canons of the Church, have been translated into their language, as yet the greater number have no idea of the principles and doctrines of Christianity; and their schamans and the superstitions of heathenism still retain their hold upon their minds."

24: Wrangell--166-167 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut -1-2
116, 161, 177, 233, 756, 847

"The Jakuti who live on the banks of the Kolyma are not the original inhabitants of the country;their predecessors were the Omoki, the Schelagi, the Tungusi, and the Jukahiri. The Omoki, who were settled fishermen, and the Schelagi, who were a nomad people having reindeer, have so wholly disappeared, partly from wars with intruders, and partly from devastating sickness, that their names are now scarcely remembered. The Jukahiri, also, who were once a numerous nomade race, have greatly diminished. Most of them, having lost their reindeer by disease, now live poorly as fishermen along the banks of different rivers; while a few, who have preserved their reindeer, have withdrawn with them into the tundras near the sea. The Jakuti alone have not only kept up their numbers, but have advanced very considerably in population, and [167] in the cultivation of the soil. To them belongs the merit of having introduced the rearing of cattle and horses, and other branches of rural industry, into a region where the soil, and still more the climate, appeared to forbid all such attempts, and thus securing not merely a subsistence, but some degree of comfort. They may be said to have rendered these inhospitable steppes accessible to the intrepid descendants of Jermak, who have brought with them Christianity, and rescued an ignorant and superstitious people from the delusions of Schamanism and its barbarous customs. (1)

1. It was a frequent practice to expose new-born female children in baskets, suspended from the branches of trees. Sometimes it

24: Wrangell--166-167 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut-2
116, 161, 177, 233, 756, 847

> happened that, before the infants perished from cold and hunger, they were found and adopted by strangers; and old women are still to be met with in families of which they became members in this way.

The Jakuti are now all baptized. A priest from Sredne Kolymsk visits these settlements every year. An ecclesiastic named Slezzow, who resided here twenty years ago, manifested great courage and zeal in abolishing Schamanism. Wherever he found any idols or heathen altars, he caused them to be destroyed by fire or thrown into the water, and none such are now to be met with. There are still, however, as I have noticed in a former chapter, schamans , who continue to have a few adherents, and are generally consulted, and even by Russians, in regard to finding a stray beast or discovering stolen property."

24: Wrangell--192-193 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 431, 756, 771

"They [RCH: i.e., the population on the Aniuk River which includes Yakuts] have all been baptized, and conform to the usages of the Russian Church at least once a year, when the different settlements are visited by the priest of Nishne Kolymsk, for the purpose of solemnizing marriages, christenings, and burials, and of administering the Lord's Supper. The journey is a very difficult and laborious one, as it includes a circuit [193] of many hundred wersts, at the worst season of the year, and in a wild and desert country. It is, however, a very advantageous journey to the priest in a pecuniary point of view, from the number of presents which he receives; it being not uncommon for him to return with two or three sledges laden with the most costly furs, as sables, ermines, foxes, &c."

24: Wrangell--193 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 756, 771

"Pagan superstitions have been a good deal checked by the introduction of Christianity, but the belief in the power both of good and evil spirits, and of the schamans, still keeps its ground, and, singularly enough, has extended itself to the Russians. I have even been assured, that a priest who was about to undertake a journey to Irkuzk, applied to a schaman to afford him protection by his art against any accidents on the road! Generally speaking, however, Schamanism has lost its religious character. With the Russians it is for the most part merely a mode of passing away the time, and they send for a schaman to occupy an evening in the practice of his tricks, just as in Europe people send for a conjuror."

36: Niemojowski-- 96-98 T-2 (no date) 1883 Yakut-1-2
116, 177, 577, 157, 147

" Living for centuries in this desert, and holding no communication whatever with the outside world, except when they come to sell fish and game to the travellers on the Lena, the Yakuts have preserved unimpaired their primitive character. No foreign element has influenced their habits, mode of living, or cus- [97] toms. No trace of civilization appears among them. Quiet , gentle, upright, and extremely patient, they are never the slaves of their passions, never give way to violent feelings of revenge or hate. Cunningness, falseness, and hypocrisy are unknown amongst them. Their word can always be relied upon; their promise is always fulfilled; an assurance once given is faithfully kept. The uprightness of these people is so great that in the annals of their quiet life there has never been an instance of cheating or stratagem, still less of crime. These noble qualities are the gift of Nature; but their incomparable patience is chiefly the result of climate and atmospheric influence.

This opinion is arrived at from general ethnographical considerations. All nations inhabiting the high northern latitudes are distinguished by this same virtue. The characters of Laplanders, Icelanders, and the inhabitants of the rockyconfines of Norway bear the marks of this passive, lamb-like patience. The power which tends to level all inward demonstrations is the polar temperature, which congeals every violent motion of the blood, every strong feeling. Under this freezing influence, the rest-[98] lessness inborn in man is calmed, the passions sober down, and the man whose fate made him a

36 : Niemojowski-- 96-98 T-2 (no.date) 1883 Yakut-2
116, 177, 577, 157, 147

child of these northern latitudes becomes an automaton, impervious alike to cold and to an affront, and bearing with the same equanimity a box on the ear or a snowstorm. Patience which we consider a virtue, because it has its roots in moral power, overcoming tha agitation of the blood, becomes in these children of the North a defect in character. It is impossible not to pity these unfortunates, bearing with angelic patience the abuse and ill-treatment---generally brutal and invariably undeserved--- vented upon them by the small merchants or petty clerks travelling on the Lena. Yet they do not deserve contempt; they do not act thus from any want of self-respect, but rather from an apathy bordering on moral incapacity. They receive alike good or bad with equal faith in the justice of whatever befalls them."

36: Niemojowski-- 112 . T-2 (no date) 1883 Yakut
116, 177

"These : [RCH: the Yakuts inhabiting the capital] have built themselves houses in the European style, and adopted European habits and customs, retaining only their language; having got rid of all their former ways, they seem to cling all the more strongly to this dialect, so much so, that to this day it is almost impossible to be understood in Yakutck unless speaking the language of the country."

38: Dobell--44 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 114, 177

"The Siberian hordes, who are now intermixed with the Russians, and the majority of them christened, do certainly no longer deserve the appellation, by a word equivalent to 'strangers;' but ought, on the contrary, to be placed on the same footing with the Russian population."

KUMISS FESTIVALS OF THE YAKUT AND THE DECORATION OF KUMISS VESSELS.

BY WALDEMAR JOCHELSON.

121 THE years 1888–97 were passed by me among the Yakut.
During the last two years of that period, as a member
of the Yakut Expedition fitted out by the Russian Geographical
Society, I studied the ethnology of the Yakut of the northern
districts of the Yakut Province, — those of Verkhoyansk and
Kolymsk. The results of these studies have, up to the present
time, been but partly published. During my participation in
the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, under the auspices of the
American Museum of Natural History of New York, I was
engaged in the investigation of the Koryak of the Okhotsk Sea
and of the Yukaghir of the Kolyma district. I went to the
Yukaghir from the east, across the Stanovoi Mountain ridge,
and my way back to Europe and America lay through the
country of the Yakut and the whole of Siberia. Professor
Boas, the originator of the Jesup Expedition, wished to avail
of my knowledge of the Yakut country and tribe, and of my
acquaintance there, for the purpose of acquiring a Yakut ethnological collection for the Museum. The Yakut collection gathered by me is most extensive. No European museums, not 121
177 even those of Russia, have at present more than insignificant
collections of this interesting tribe,[1] the ancient culture of which
is disappearing under the influence of climate, Russian culture,
and change or modification in the forms of industry; and in a
few years' time it will be difficult to find many objects of their
177 primitive culture. Even now it is not easy to obtain the large
ornamented kumiss goblets of wood which are described below.
The conical summer dwelling of the old-time Yakut, made of
ornamented birch-bark, all parts of which I was able to bring
000 back, is no longer in use. The so-called Palæasiatic Siberian

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[1] Of the museums of Europe, that of Leipzig alone has a small Yakut collection, which was bought at the Paris Exposition of 1900.

000 tribes,—such as the Gilyak, Kamchadal, Koryak, Chukchee,
and Yukaghir,—which were studied by the Jesup North Pacific
Expedition, were found to have a culture identical in many
101 respects with that of the North American tribes. The Yakut,
197 however, though at present living in the extreme northeast of
Siberia, are a typical representative of the culture of the nomadic
177 horse and cattle breeding Turkish tribes of Central Asia. In
spite of their present isolation from the other branches of the
Turkish race, and their probable mixture with Mongols, Tungus,
and others, the Yakut, in the course of their migrations,
have preserved one of the oldest and purest dialects of the language
spoken by the Kirghis, the Altaic tribes, the Siberian and
European Tartars, and other Turkish peoples. In tracing the
meaning of some Yakut words, I am indebted to my friend
Mr. Edward Pekarski, the well-known authority on the Yakut
language, for his assistance.

162 While none of the other tribes of the extreme northeast of
178 Asia are numerous,—each being composed of but a few thousands
or even hundreds, and those often spread over large districts,—the
Yakut, next to the Buryat (of whom there are
about two hundred and seventy thousand), are the most numerous
tribe of eastern Siberia, numbering some two hundred and
fifty thousand. Regardless of the unfavorable conditions of
life in their present territory, they are increasing numerically,
and are showing capacity for higher material culture and intellectual
progress.

174 According to some indications, the Yakut were separated
from the other Turkish tribes of the steppes of central Asia
and southern Siberia, and driven to the northeast by the Mongol
hordes, at the time of the invasion of the conqueror Chinghis
Khan. By the valley of Lena River they reached the country
of their present abode, in their turn driving farther to the north
and to the mountains, or assimilating, the ancient residents of
the country,—the Tungus and Yukaghir. The Yakut brought
to the far northeast of Siberia, not only their Turkish language,
but also the whole of the comparatively high culture of
Central-Asiatic horsemen, brought with them horses and cattle,
introduced silver, iron, and copper work, the fashion in

dress and dress-ornamentation of the Tartaric peoples, the dual- 174
istic religious ideas, and the poetical folk-lore, of Western Asia.

In their old country they were principally horse-breeders. 231
The horses were employed both as beasts of burden and as
animals for riding; their skins were used for clothing; their 262
flesh, for food; and kumiss, the fermented drink prepared from 273
mare's milk, served not only as a stimulating beverage, but also 177
as a most important nutritious food.[1] For a time after their 184
arrival in their new abode, the horse was still their principal
domestic animal, and kumiss their essential food; but gradually
the climatic conditions of the country on the one hand, and contact with Russian culture on the other, have exerted a modifying
influence, which is still operative, over both the mental and the
material culture of the Yakut. A small part of the tribe in the
extreme north of the Yakut province must have experienced a
decadence of their former material life. This minority became
reindeer-breeders, dog-breeders, or hunters, and fish-eaters. But
even into these new lines of life the Yakut introduced more
advanced methods.

The tribe as a whole, while engaged in horse and cattle breed- 233
ing as their chief occupation, began to increase the number of 234
their horned cattle at the expense of their number of horses. 439
Of cow's milk they could make, for use during the long winter, 241
butter, a kind of cheese, and some other milk products which 262
cannot, as we shall see later, be made from mare's milk. The
Russian gold-mining companies on the rivers Olekma and Vitim
proved profitable buyers of these cattle, and this gave an impetus to the raising of them. Finally, the cultivation of cereal [177]
plants, borrowed from the Russians in the southern parts of
the Yakut Province, where the climate allows of it, has made
such progress in the last twenty years, that at present agriculture is the chief occupation, and bread the staple food, of many
Yakut families of the District of Yakutsk, and particularly of
that of Olekminsk. Nowadays large droves of horses, and 231

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[1] Some travellers consider that the Yakut horse belongs to the present race of horses of the steppes of southwestern Siberia; but it is difficult to say whether the Yakut horse of to-day has any connection with the extinct horse, the fossil remains of which have been found in the polar regions of northeastern Siberia.

415 323 It is likely that the "nail" and the "finger" ornaments originated from the Yakut pottery-work, which is still preserved in a very primitive form.[1]

531 532 No. 21 is an ornament copied by me from a Yakut clay pot, and is called *tyñyraxmāx torduya*, which means "nail-raising." But this pattern is impressed in the soft clay, not with the nail, but with a wooden stamp named *küös oyūlür mas*, meaning "a stick [*mas*] for the ornamentation of clay pots [*küös*]."

No. 20 is also stamped on clay pots, and is called *būltāghir torduya*, which means "rounded raising," but this pattern is also found on kumiss vessels.

There can also be found on kumiss vessels a pattern, not here illustrated, called *tañalai oyū* ("palate-ornament"). It consists of small curves which represent the arch of the palate.

Nos. 17–19 are often seen engraved in or embroidered on kumiss vessels. They are called *sarbyn'n'ax oyū* ("hanging ornament"). This pattern is made with the concave face turned either downwards or upwards. In the first case it represents the hanging arch of the sky; in the second, a rope hung up by the two ends. In a form similar to the latter it is also found on the clay pots of the neolithic age of western Europe, and was named *Schnurgehänge* by the German archæologists, which name coincides with the Yakut one.

415 531 The decorative work on the kumiss goblets is usually made by engraving the patterns on the even surface of the vessel. But we also find patterns carved in relief; for instance, the net-ornament mentioned before is in relief on the goblets on Plate XXI. Some patterns made in relief (see Nos. 11, 12, Fig. 8) have a common name, *tomtorgo oyū*, which means simply "relief ornaments," and which refers only to the style of carving, and not to the meaning of the pattern.

[177] Nos. 26, 27, which include conventionalized plants, are called *usuor oyū*. The word *usuor* is borrowed from the Russian word *uzor* (in Polish *wzor*), which means "pattern." The patterns too are evidently borrowed from Russian decorative motives.

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[1] A short description of Yakut pottery will be given in my work on the Koryak (Jesup Expedition Publications, Vol. VI).

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

In the same way, judging by the names, the lineal ornaments of Nos. 24, 25,—the first called *duobat oyū*, and the second *saxymat oyū*,—must be regarded as borrowed from the Russians. *Duobat* is the old Russian word *doved*, which means the game of draughts; and *saxymat*, which is the Russian word *shachmat*, means "chess."

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177

40: Burr --107-108 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 177, 281, 291, 352, 492

" The Yakuts evidently have a sense of the beautiful, for their clothing, made of the skins of reindeer, horse and dog, are not only very warm and comfortable, but decidedly pleasing to look at. The blending of the browns, blacks, fawn and white has an excellent effect, and is usually worked out in a chequered pattern in very good taste. They are expensive, though, and I was asked three hundred roubles for an outfit, about thirty pounds. But nowadays, of course, they have disappeared from use before Russian factory products. There was a specimen of a kamalán or rug, made in this same pattern, which attracted me very much. I was very anxious to acquire one, but was told they are rare, and that the Yakuts generally are very unwilling to part with them. A still finer specimen was a native saddle. This was somewhat on the lines of the Cossack design, with high pommels, but was richly ornamented with little round disks of lead, in the absence of a more decorative local metal, and the saddle-cloth was a particularly effective piece of [108] patchwork in variously coloured skins. "

40: Burr--149-150 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 177, 186, 212, 635

" They [150] are an interesting and vigorous people, one of the few indigenous Siberian folk who can stand up to civilization. They number some three hundred thousand, and cover a vast area of north-eastern Siberia. They are ambitious and determined to acquire culture. They have a definite national consciousness, now expressed in the Yakut Autonomous Socialistic Republic with its capital at Yakutsk. True, there are hardly enough educated men among them yet to administer the young state, so that most of the officials are Russians. But they are making great strides in education, and of recent years have reduced their language to writing. It is characteristic that they have not adopted the Cyrillic alphabet from the Russians for this purpose, but the Latin, with various modifications, to express their numerous guttural vowels. This is the only item in their modern culture which they have not borrowed directly from their Russian neighbours, and the fact is in harmony with the policy of the Soviets, who are encouraging the Turanian and other peoples of the Union to take not Russian but Latin letters. "

43: Karutz--74 E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 174, 177,

On the upper Yenisei. north of the Baikal lake a nation was formed of early-eurasian and turco-tataric race elements:the Sochalàr ('the men') as they call themselves, the Yakuts, as their neighbors called them. Pushed by the mongolic Buryats they wandered northward, between the Chatanga in the west, the Kolyma in the east, and the polar sea in the north, accommodated themselves to the tundra soil and new climate, and proved so vital as to influence all of their neighbors and even the Russians. Once horse and sheep breeders the Yakuts now became reindeer and cattle owners, hunters and fishermen, and, with a definite talent, merchants. It seems as if the ancient shamanic faculties had been changed into intellectual forces when the Russians came, and with them western materialistic civilization. Their best achievement in this line was the introduction of the horse to Northern Siberia.

44: Gilder -- 175 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116, 161, 177, 342, 361 Russia
636. 36

"Sradnia, or Middle Kolymsk, is a Russian settlement of about 500 inhabitants, including Russians Yakouts, and a few Tchouktchis. The houses are all built of hewn logs, are but one story high, and the windows are glazed with blocks of transparent ice. Some of the houses have windows of glass, but these are always much broken and mended, so that seen from the outside they look like the stained-glass windows of a church. The most conspicuous building there, as in all the little Russian towns, is the church edifice, which is of Oriental architecture, with a dome surmounted by a cross and exceedingly florid in its style of architecture. Adjoining the church, and within the same enclosure, is a small wooden tower surrounded by a block-house, which was built by the first settlers of Sradnia as a means of defence against the savage Yakouts and Tchouktchis. This town is irregularly built and extends over a considerable area of ground, the Government buildings being situated about a mile from the centre. By Government buildings is meant merely the storehouses for grain and bread and for the skins which are received for taxes. These buildings are of logs, with great heavy doors and padlocks about the size of an ordinary valise, while the key is a load of itself."

44: Gilder --183-184 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116, 177, 779, 788

"Not only the Russian inhabitants but the Yakouts, Tungusians, Lamoots and Tchouktchis who reside near the settlements [RCH: around the Kolyma River] are all equally religious. It seemed to me to be a most convenient religion [RCH: i. e. the Greek religion] for it consisted, as far as I could see, in crossing one's self and bowing before the pictures and in fasting upon a fish diet where there was scarcely anything but fish to eat. It is a beautiful religion and abounds in affectionate salutes. All these forms are particularly dear to the Yakout, and never omitted, at least in the presence of a white man. After prayers every one kisses every one else three times--once on each cheek and once [184] on the mouth. This is universal--men, women and children, servants and masters, soldiers and their commanding officers. It is neither the ecstatic nor paroxysmal kiss, nor yet the Platonic, but simply the kiss of devotion. The entire household join in prayers, all standing before the chromos of saints with metallic rays attached to their heads in the most realistic fashion, and cross themselves and bow in unison, unless some one particularly devout prostrates himself upon the floor and kisses the planks in the ferver of his religious zeal."

45: Lesseps--200 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 161, 177, 361 Russia
636.36

"I travelled the whole night, and arrived in the morning at the fort of Taousk, being a distance of forty-two wersts. [RCH: from the village of Armani] This ostrog, where, on conformity to the plan we had laid down, we spent the day, is situated on the river Taon. It contains twenty isbas, [RCH: Russian-type dwellings made of wood] a small church served by the vicar of Okotsk, and a building for the reception of tributes, surrounded by palisades in the form of bastions. Twenty Yakouts, two chiefs, and some other Koriacs, who, attracted by the situation, have settled there, make up the whole of the inhabitants. The garrison consists of fifteen soldiers, commanded by a serjeant named Okhotin, at whose house I took up my abode till the evening.

In the night I passed through the village of Gorbé, peopled by Yakouts, and a small number of Koriacs."

45: Lesseps--310 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 177, 764

"Remains of old tombs of the Yakouts were frequently pointed out to me in the woods. They were coffins clumsily made, and suspended on the branches of trees. I know not from what motive they have renounced this custom of exposing their dead in the open air, and a distance from their habitaions; but at present their mode of interment is familiar to that of christians."

46: Cottrell--109 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 563

"At no great distance from the Icy Sea there is a colony of Russians settled there since the first invasion of the country, principally on the river Ynedigyrka, who have adopted the mode of life of the Yakuts and Yukaghires, by whom they are surrounded. They live by fishing, and catching the different sorts of foxes with which those regions abound."

46: Cottrell--137 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 622, 623 Russia
636, 62

"The former [RCH: i. e., Yakuts] are divided into communities, which are governed by golovás and knaizetzes or ancients. The first are chosen among the second, and they from and by the common people; all, however, are subject to provincial commissaries appointed by the Russian government. From the resemblance between the Russian word knäs or prince, and knaizetz, the latter got the title of highness in Russia, but the Yakuts before the Russian conquest even never had independent princes. The title of golová, on the contrary, being one of very slight importance in Russia, they were placed below the knaizetzes, though at home they enjoy much higher rank and authority."

46: Cottrell--139-140 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
116, 177, 789, 821 Russia
636.82

"Another equally ridiculous notion, [RCH: as that about the flesh of the white partridge; see category 116, p. 139] and which they show their faith in by constantly acting up to it in [140] summer, is, that there are certain stones, which have the faculty of troubling the air, or producing a sudden change in the temperature. This is an ancient superstition, and probably was so generally adopted, that more than a hundred years ago, in the reign of the Empress Anne, an ukase was issued, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the use of these stones."

49: Findeisen--10-11 E-1 (no date) 1930 Yakut
116, 177, 291, 301

The work clothing of the women consists of a [11] blouse going down to the ground, and a long waist coat which is decorated with pockets and silver ornaments. A cloth and the simple Russian felt cap serve as head dress. On holidays, however, the women dress in a gown embroidered with bright-colored patterns. A silver belt with a large pair of scissors hanging down, neatly embroidered silver-colored ribbons, which are attached to the shoulder, and a large cross on the chest complete the holiday dress. A conical cap serves as head gear; it is decorated with silver particles and ribbons.

RV2
Tungus RUS

The two Tungus accompanying us made
T /174 cont./ peculiar faces at
123 this story, for such is not known in their country. They evidently considered these people terrible liars, or, if everything that they said were actually true, great blockheads.

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● 177 In still another respect we found Chitrow's statements confirmed. That is, he names as inhabitants of the Shigansk /Zhigansk/ district, and especially of the lower Olenėk, Russians, Tungus, and Jakuten /Yakut/ and observes that the first two have been completely Jakutized, not only in clothing and customs, but also in language. So far we had met only one Tungus, who, however, actually belonged to the Wiljuisk /Vilyuisk/ district -- to be sure, he was so completely Jakutized that he no longer even understood Tungus; all the other people whom we met called themselves Jakuten. Now we learned from the elder that even his family, Chatÿgin, which is now considered a true Jakut one, was originally a Tungus one, but has been Jakutized for several generations.

Y
122 On the morning of October 18 we could finally set out on our journey, unfortunately in very bad weather, for a violent southwest wind blew and at any moment the sky threatened snow, which had also fallen abundantly the day before, but we could
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[132] not wait any longer. We had scarcely passed the timber line about ten versts from our balagan when the wind thoroughly shook us; also it began to snow again, the purga, the snowstorm, was ready to start -- still not a wholly genuine one, to be sure. The true purga only begins, as is said here, in the black months, that is, when the sun no longer comes up. When sky and earth are no longer to be distinguished in the chaos of whirling particles of ice, when the raging storm itself is able to blow down lighter buildings, then even one of the natives rarely ventures /175/ out into the dreadful snow-wilderness threatening destruction. Today it was still bearable, especially for Czekanowsky and me, protected by our kibitkas and only sprinkled with powderings of snow on occasional windings of the route. On this day, on account of the bad weather, we covered a distance somewhat shorter than our guide had intended, but still 50-60 versts, and had to wait almost two hours until the men had put up our tschum in a river valley somewhat protected from the wind.

/176 cont./

100 entering the balagan we were received by the ladies of the house.
122 They had, of course, put on their most beautiful finery; we
123 were struck in particular by the very large silver earrings, which,
[301] by the way, are also fashionable among the wealthy Tungus women
[171] along the Tunguska and are also acquired there from the Jakuten
[177] /Yakut/. After the strenuous tundra trip we made ourselves
comfortable at the roaring fire of the fireplace, heartily glad
that from here we could, with a good conscience, turn back
toward the south, toward home. We had hoped to be here two
months earlier -- the reader has learned with what /177/ great
difficulties we had made it possible to be here now. /The remainder of p. 177, pp. 178-180, and the first paragraph of p. 181 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. Page 181 continues as follows./

114 Of the living scientists only one had come farther than we on the mainland of Asia -- indeed, by almost three degrees of latitude -- Middendorff at the mouth of the Taimyr. We also did not forget the dead -- the intrepid mariners, Charitón Láptew /Laptev/, Prόntschischtschew /Prontschischev/, Tscheljúskin /Chelyuskin/, and others who had trod this ground almost a century and a half before us undertook from here their daring journeys to explore the coasts of the Arctic Ocean and for the most part also paid here for their zeal with their lives. All our searchings for their graves, for remains of their dwellings, were in vain. On the rocks which Czekanowsky climbed there were in several places remains of old dwelling sites -- whether of theirs remained doubtful. Every tradition of that noble expedition paid for with such tremendous sacrifices /182/has been lost among
100 the inhabitants (1). At that time Russian peasants probably lived

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114 1. So it in fact appeared to us, but in the following year Czekanowsky found the inhabitants of Boljkalák much more communicative. They showed him the graves of Prόntschischtschew and his courageous wife, who had followed him into this desolate place. On the last rock on the right shore of the

/197 cont./
632 from the Arctic Ocean, owes its present importance less to the rich
[225] fishing, which could be made useful for the more southerly regions
[439] only by the establishment of a steamship company like the one
on the Jenissei /Yenisei/, and more to the trade in arctic foxes
and in particular in mammoth tusks, which are collected here
from the entire region and then taken to the European market by
[136] way of Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ and Irkutsk. Fossil ivory is found
throughout northern Siberia, although the richest sources are supposed to be the New Siberian Islands in the Arctic Ocean, but the
trip there across the frozen ocean involves great difficulties and
dangers, and we were even told that the government had prohibited
trading trips there after a party of ivory-seekers perished on one.

161 According to the more detailed reports gathered by
131 Czekanowsky on his second stay in Bulún, the population of the
entire ulússes consists of 2,293 souls, 770 of whom are counted
on the stretches of the Lena lying within the forest region, 30 in
the forest region along the Olenék, while about 550 live on the
timber line itself between the Lena and Anábara, and /198/ over
900 live on the tundra, and, in particular, on the islands at the
131 mouth of the Lena and the Olenék. These people, consisting of
● 177 Jakuten /Yakut/, or rather Jakutized Tungus, are cut off on all
sides from intercourse with other human beings by broad, barren
stretches scarcely traversed by a hunter, certainly to their advantage -- I have spoken above, in the description of our sojourn
in Boljkalák, of the inhabitants' purity of morals -- may it be
preserved here a very long time and may more active intercourse
and the cultural advance connected with it exert only a wholesome influence on these upright primitive people. Up to now --
273 at least so we were assured -- the natives strictly guard against
running into debt with the merchants, and liquor, this plague advancing in the train of civilization and so corrupting for all
primitive peoples, seems to be relatively not very widespread
273 here. I must mention here that the government does not permit,
or at least permits only under great limitations, the sale of spirits
to the native tribes of Siberia, as well as to the workers at the
gold washings, but, in view of the immense tracts of land to be

/252 cont./

241 the interest of his superior, the community elder, Dmítrij
Danílow, who took part in cultivating the field the next year.
241 They obtained the always good yield of a ten-fold harvest, but
256 mills were completely lacking. They had to content themselves
● 177 with wooden mortars and obtained only a kind of coarse groats
which the Jakuten /Yakut/ did not care for at all. Although soon afterward, with the help of a merchant from Oljókminsk/Olekminsk/, better farm implements, which were immediately copied by the excellent Jakut blacksmiths, and hand mills were obtained, a Russian oven was built, and the first bread grown on the land was baked, it was still a very long time before the Jakuten -- originally a herding people -- became accustomed to agriculture. They regarded it as a sin, and when their elder, Danílow, tried to force them to do it, for he obtained better and better results in the following years by making the land arable for sowing during the year before, the dispute broke out into the open. Bolkáschin and Danílow were suspended as a result of the constant denunciations of their subordinates, and Bolkáschin moved away entirely to Jakutsk, while Danílow finally succeeded in convincing the higher authorities of the value of his efforts and was reinstated in office. Nevertheless, despite his /253/ work in the fields, carried out on a larger scale every year, the Jakuten continued to be quite indifferent to it.

241 Even up to the most recent times the agriculture of the
113 Jakuten /Yakut/ leaves much to be desired, for I have before me a printed publication of the Statistical Committee in Jakutsk for the year 1872, entitled: "Notes on Agriculture by the Jakutsk Merchant Peter Maksímowitsch Leóntjew," whose introductory words in particular are very characteristic, and I shall therefore give them here in translation:

"Almost half a century ago the Jakuten began to engage in agriculture, but even now they still sow much less grain than they actually could. The reason is not so much that they have no interest in agriculture, but rather ignorance or a certain Asiatic stubbornness that compels them not to imitate the example of the Russians unconditionally, but rather to act according to

51: Müller--148 N-2 (1873-1875) 1882 RV2 Yakut RY2
Tungus RUS

/256 cont./

A further scientific curiosity is the so-called Schérgin shaft, famous for Middendorff's temperature measurements, by means of which the enormous depth of the ice floor was established scientifically.

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For making my magnetic observations, /257/ the governor was kind enough to clear completely the very large reception room of the club, and in particular even had the large metal chandelier taken down. Our young Tungus, Sseliphón, was following me with the instruments and suddenly, with a loud cry, stopped in the middle of the room. On the main wall hung a very well painted lifesize portrait of the emperor; my explanation that it was the emperor dumbfounded him even more; he made countless bows and could finally be convinced only with the greatest difficulty, after he had put his hand behind the picture several times, as children often do with mirrors, that it was merely a picture and not His Majesty in person.

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We would have liked to take with us as mementos some of the work of the Jakuten /Yakut/. Like most Turkish tribes -- the Jakut language is so similar to Turkish that Turks cast adrift here are said to make themselves understood very easily -- the Jakuten excel in iron work. We were also shown some ornaments very artistically made out of silver and iron, quite similar to the Caucasian work, but unfortunately they were not for sale. The Jakuten are also very artistic at works carved out of fossil ivory, although they are said to show little power of invention in doing it, but, on the other hand, copy perfectly. We bought a few paper knives which were obviously made from European models -- the handle was formed by a hand holding a cornucopia; we were also shown very pretty little openwork boxes made from Chinese patterns, but most particularly beautiful was a pair of large combs such as are used by the Russian clergy to arrange their hair, which is worn as long as possible. Bishop Dionýssij asked me to take these as a gift to his friend, the rector of the divinity school in Irkutsk. They showed three bishop's /258/ miters on an openwork background with the most elegant arabesques.

(up to the beginning of the 20th century), is a humped iron scythe with a 412 short, curved handle with which the grass was rather hewn (left and right) than mown. Later on this scythe was replaced by the Russian Lithuanian- [177] type scythe and is never used nowadays. The Yakuts mowed the grass in the alasy and river valleys, gathering the hay into small sheaves, in which it often became soaked and rotted away, hence the quality of the hay was not usually very high.

In the winter, the cattle were kept in cold, dark and crowded khotons, 343 which were usually built under the same roof as the dwelling; the animals were usually herded into the khoton only at night, while in the daytime they 231 were left outside, in the frost. When there was a lack of hay, the cattle had little to eat, and were watered with icy water from a hole in the ice. The austere conditions under which the cattle were kept and the cold cli- 234 mate made them hardy, but unproductive. The Yakut cow yielded an average of 60 buckets of milk a year, and for two or three months in the winter was left unmilked. The mares were only milked in the summer, as a general rule.

Both the cattle and the horses were utilized in much the same way; 234 they gave milk, meat, and hides, and served for transportation (oxen were usually harnessed to carts, while horses were ridden, or carried packs). 231

The predominance of pastoralism involved preservation of the semi- 361 nomadic way of life. Until recently the Yakuts retained the custom of moving twice a year—round about May and October—from the winter to the summer camps, and back again. The winter dwellings were usually set up near the mowings, while the summer dwellings (which, incidentally, were comparatively close by the former) were built close to the pasture-lands.

Fishing, Hunting and Agriculture

The second branch of economy in importance was fishing. There was 226 a tremendous amount of carp and a small fish called mundu in the abundant lakes, and coregonus muksun, white salmon and so on were plentiful in the rivers. For the poor people who had no cattle, fishing had long been [184] a main occupation; the expression balyksyt (fisherman) is used in documents of the 17th century in the sense of "a poor man." At the same time, there were actually complete tribal groups who seem to have lived chiefly by fishing. These were the so-called "foot clans" of the Yakuts (Osekui, Ontuls, Kokui, Kiriks, Kyrgydays and Orgots). These tribes, who were clearly a remnant of the very ancient prepastoral population, were first discovered in the 17th century by Russians on the Vilyuy. For the Yakut pastoralists, fishing was an essential subsidiary occupation and has retained its importance until our own day.

The fish were caught chiefly in the summer, but there was also fishing through the ice during the wintertime. Use was made of seines which were chiefly made of horsehair, smaller nets, and sack-nets, etc. In the autumn there was usually collective fishing with a large seine, and the catch was divided among all those taking part, in accordance with ancient custom.

There is a hypothesis (V. L. Seroshevskiy) that Yakut fishing was only 114 recently borrowed from the Evenks and Russians. In actual fact, fishing is the oldest form of economy among the population of the Lena region, 226 including the ancestors of the Yakuts.

Hunting is the third, though far less important, branch of Yakut econ- 224 omy. Just like fishing, it goes back to very ancient times. During the

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

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Yakut sleigh.

Another means of overland transportation was the ski, which was lined underneath with horsehide and not reindeer suede. The Yakut boats were no different from the Tungus ones. They had a canoe (tyy) made of birch-bark or else flat-bottomed and made from planks. The larger vessel—the karbaz—had sails and was evidently borrowed from the Russians. 481 281 501 [177]

Settlements and Buildings

Until recently the Yakut settlements were very much scattered about. The prevalent type of populated point (yal) consisted of one, two or three yurts standing in a row; there were less than 20 people (according to the 361

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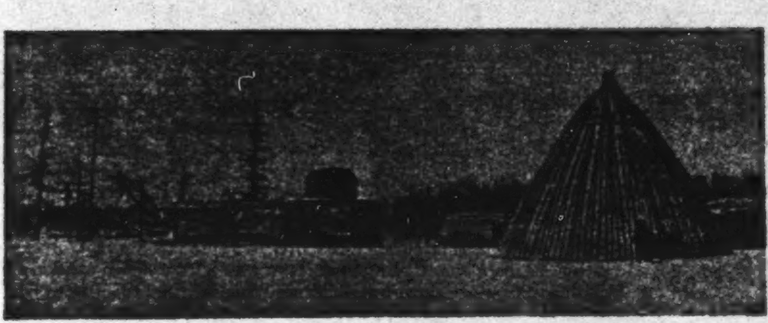
Yakut woman with horse festively saddled.

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2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Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

342 178 [171] There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Meginskiy and Borogonskiy ulusy, as well as in the Kolymskiy Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century.

342 177 During the 19th century the Russian type of structure—the log hut—gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found: for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on.

357 The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horizontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together.

575 648 712 726 When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or ostrozhki, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636-1637, during the campaign against the Kangalastsy, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: ". . . the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons.

Clothing

291 177 178 The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing.

The underclothing of the Yakuts in the old days consisted of leather 291 shorts (syald'yya), which have remained in use to the present day and [178] are the same for men and women. They are supplemented at the top by a fur stomach-warmer and below by leather leggings. The shirt (yrbakhy) [177] appeared later, evidently through Russian influence; it was made from Chinese blue cotton cloth or some other fabric, was the same in cut for men and women, and differed from the Russian shirt only by having a turned-down collar. The commonest outer clothing, both for men and women, was the son, a kaftan like single-breasted coat with a straight vent at the front; there was a fur version for the winter; in recent times it has become usual to cover it with some kind of cloth, but before, it used to be lined with suede. The summer son was made of cloth, but among the poorer people it was made of horsehide or cowhide with the fur on the inside. It was made by sewing four similar tapered strips together with the wider part at the bottom and with extra pieces in the form of small wedges below the belt; the sleeves were wide, puffed at the shoulders and narrow at the bottom. The ancient outer costume (sangyyakh) was re- [292] tained as the festive dress for women, and to judge by 17th-century texts, it was originally much more widespread and not confined to women. It was a very fine and richly ornamented long fur coat fitting at the waist with a long vent at the back, with fur trimming and various extra pieces sewn on. These fine garments were kept and handed down as a family treasure, predominantly among the toyon families; the cost of them at the end of the 19th century reached as much as 1000 rubles. The cut of the sangyyakh was close to the Altay chegedek (the Khakas sigidek and Buryat tsegdek) from which it differed by having sleeves. The very names "sangyyakh" and "chegedek" are etymologically related. It was the straight vent at the back which distinguished typical Yakut clothing from the double-breasted costume of the steppe nomads, which closed on the right side; the outer clothing of the Yakuts differed from the Tungus clothing in that the flaps came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between at the chest or stomach was covered with a chest-piece. The outer clothing of the men was usually girdled with leather belts; among the richer people the belt was ornamented from end to end with silver or copper plaques. A sheathed knife and a steel for making fire were usually hung from the belt. There were also belts with silver plaques and wide silk sashes.

The shape of the headgear was fairly varied. Leaving aside the types borrowed from the Russians, the following kinds can be distinguished. The ancient fur cap (in later times, made of velveteen) was like a helmet with a sharp point and elongated sides in the form of earpieces; it was trimmed with squirrel or some other fur and was worn by both men and women. It was similar to the type worn by the Kazakhs. The festive women's hat, similar in style, though more dressy, differed from the previous type by having a high cloth top, flat at the front and back, with various embellishments, the chief of which was a silver-minted disk (tuohakhta); the part hanging down at the back of the neck was covered with some kind of expensive fur. These large ceremonial hats are typical only of the Yakuts. They also wore a typical Tungus-type cap made of reindeer fur. The most interesting of the summer hats was a wide-brimmed flat hat, undoubtedly an imitation of the Russian straw hat, but woven entirely of horsehair. In the summer, people very often wore Russian peaked caps, or else bound their heads (both men and women) with a kerchief. A characteristic feature of the Yakut winter clothing particular by the poorer people who had no cattle, although it was also 362 a secondary diet for the wealthier groups in the population. In the summer, people used to eat fresh fish boiled in water or slightly fried (carp and other small fish), on spikes or in a frying pan (the scales were removed but the innards were left untouched). A great deal of fish was stocked up for the winter, pickled in bark-lined pits; the acidified and half-rotten fish—syma—was then frozen and used to make butugas as a substitute for milk tar. The more valuable types of fish, particularly sterlet, white salmon, and whitefish of various types, were consumed in the raw, frozen form.

With rare exceptions, meat was eaten only in the wealthier households. Most highly valued was horsemeat, but even among the rich it was not served too often. Beef was eaten more frequently. The meat of various other animals, especially in the northern hunting regions, was also eaten. It was usually boiled (though attempts were made not to overcook it), and sometimes roasted in the old manner on wooden spikes. Fat was specially highly valued. The carcasses of slaughtered cattle were kept for the winter in frozen form. The Yakuts did not eat certain types of wild animals and birds—beasts of prey, sea gulls, ravens, cuckoos and owls—and they refused to eat the brains of domestic animals. During the 19th century, under [177] Russian influence, bread began to be eaten and later salt, sugar and tea became part of the diet of the Yakuts. Dealers brought in vodka to the ulusy. [273]

Hygiene

The living conditions of the Yakuts before the Revolution were extremely 515 unhygienic. As a result of the filth, overcrowding and stagnant air in the yurt with its earthen floor and cattle-shed right next door conditions were completely abnormal. Furthermore, the Yakuts, particularly in winter, rarely washed themselves, and the washing of clothes was practically unknown.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that there were frequent 164 epidemics. Skin diseases were particularly rampant, and mange, ringworm, ulcers, and so on were due to the permanent contamination of the skin. Eye diseases (trachoma, etc.) were very common, particularly among the older people, a large number of whom lost their sight. According to the 1915 census, there were 110 blind people per 10,000 Yakuts. True leprosy existed in some of the damp, marshy regions; isolation shelters for lepers [744] were arranged in out of the way spots. Tuberculosis was quite common.

Nervous disorders were widespread in the northern regions of Yakutiya, particularly among women, which was due to the difficult living conditions, exhausting work, and to a number of women's diseases, etc. The nervous disorders took such forms as Arctic hysteria, the so-called menerik, which is something like epilepsy; the sick woman throws a fit during which she shouts and raves until she falls asleep exhausted. Another, similar nervous disorder was *эмүрэх*; the symptoms are an unconscious, involuntary imitation of anything which frightens or astonishes the sufferer.

The Yakuts had no rational method of treating these ailments. They 757 often used primitive domestic cures such as cauterizing, licking the pus from sores and so on. It was usual during sickness to resort to quack 755 doctors and shamans.

Social Structure

The social structure of the Yakuts, as it had developed by the time of 619 the October Revolution, was a peculiar mishmash of complex forms of

Nevertheless, the meadows and fisheries had already been taken over to

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some extent by the toyons. The seizure of them was accompanied by a hard
struggle since the communes resisted the toyon claims to their own land.

Such, in general terms, was the social structure of the Yakuts by the 648
time the Russians arrived. Tsarist policy between the 17th and 19th centuries
speeded up the development of social relations, so that Yakut
society just before the October Revolution had already changed very much
from what it had been three centuries ago. Nevertheless, many phenomena
proved extremely stable and retained their archaic nature until recent
times. Just before the Revolution the division of the Yakuts into strata 565
according to the property they possessed was extremely marked. Most 433
of the population did not even have enough cattle for the hunger norm
(this norm, when the grade of the livestock was low, was considered to be 231
two head of livestock per person), whereas in the few toyon households there
were several dozen head of livestock per person. However, the unequal distribution
of the livestock was by no means anything new for the Yakuts.
But the question of land was different. The system which had grown up in 177 ●
the domain of land tenure was of comparatively recent origin. Since the 423
arrival of the Russians in Yakutiya, the process of decomposition of the 622
ancient communal-clan system of using the meadowland had been stepped
up. The toyons were vigorously seeking to acquire the common lands.
The development of private land ownership by the toyons continued to 648
the 1760's, when certain measures introduced by the Russian administration 423
gave it a new direction. In 1765, Yakuts were forbidden to buy or sell
land, and in the next few years, through the activity of the Yakut Tribute
Commission, the distribution of land in accordance with the so-called
"sable" and "fox" taxes or parts of them was introduced among the Yakuts.
Later on, in about 1820, this distribution of land assumed the form of
the so-called "class system" of land usage, which legalized the extremely
unequal distribution of the land, though, on the surface, it seemed to be
something like common land usage. This "class system," which was later
modified, had assumed the following form by the beginning of the 20th
century.

The unit of measurement of land among the Yakuts was the "rick" 423
(*күрүө*), a plot of land from which one hayrick could be mown (the size of [804]
the rick ranged from 10 to 30 cartloads, sometimes as many as 40 or
60). These allotments made up plots (*өлбүгэ*) which were extremely varied
in size, depending on the "class," and there were three or four "classes."
One first-class plot (*бастыҥ* or *улахан өлбүгэ*) was equal to two second-class
plots (*орто өлбүгэ*) and three or four third-class plots (kenniki or
кыччыгый өлбүгэ). The population was also divided into three or four 565
classes: the toyon households belonged to the first class, and received a 423
first-class plot, the middle households were usually assigned to the second 622
class and the poorer people to the third and fourth classes, each receiving
the corresponding clan plot. Thus, the system itself gave the toyons
plots of land which were three or four times larger than those of the poorer
people. It is true that in return for this the toyons had somewhat greater
obligations, but the difference in their extent was extremely small. However,
this inequality was by no means the only thing. The toyons actually
possessed much more land, having seized it in a variety of different ways.
For example, they had several plots, rather than just one, by registering [192]
them in the names of their children, workers and so on. It was also the
custom to give officials (who were more often than not themselves toyons)
additional plots of land, so-called *указ-күрүө* (from the Russian word
"ukaz" [edict]), for which, incidentally, there was no payment. The
influential toyons also obtained extra plots called ugayy (or kharyy).

The Yakuts are very fond of eloquence. The ability to make a good speech at a meeting is highly regarded, and the speaker is greeted with cries of approval. 537

With regard to the songs (yrya), the melodies are simple and monotonous, but there are different genres, and the images are often artistic. 533 It is possible to sing love songs (for girls and boys), dance songs, humorous songs, shaman songs, and so on, as well as improvisations, when a person tells in song what he has been doing or seeing. The motif of this kind of song is very simple and usually consists of two or three repeated notes.

The Yakuts did not have any other kind of music, apart from vocal.
There were no musical instruments, leaving aside the shaman tambourine and the khomus, a small iron jew's-harp known to more or [534]
less all the peoples of the Old World.

The dances of the Yakuts are very original. Particularly interesting 535
is a round called the *ohyoxaü*, performed during festivals.

The dancers stand in a circle arm in arm and in time to the singing move with majestic steps to the left, in the direction of movement of the sun. There were variations of this dance in different localities. There were also various dancing games.

Ornamental art attained a high level of development among the Yakuts. 531
The carving of wood and mammoth ivory; the casting and stamping of 532
silver, copper and gold; the embroidery and appliqué of leather and fabric; fur appliqué and mosaic; the weaving of horsehair: all these were arts performed with materials available to the Yakuts and in which the craftsmen showed particular artistic taste and skill. Basically there was no graphic art for other than decorative purposes among the Yakuts, just as in the folk art of the past as a whole, if we disregard the animal, and human figures made by the shamans, and the later carved sculpture made in imitation of Russian examples.

The style of the Yakut design was original, although it contained 531
Tungus, Mongol and other elements. Geometric motifs predominated, at times rather intricate ones. On the carved wooden vessels we find circular designs consisting of straight, serrated and wavy lines with points, dashes and so on, covering almost the entire surface. In the stamping, casting and birchbark carving, there predominate symmetrical, rounded figures, such as hooks, meanders, pincer-shapes, and so on, with linear squares, concentric circles and so forth. Very typical is a design found on scoops and saddlecloths; here one is struck by the central two-horned lyre—a purely Yakut motif.

The darkening of silver, and the painting of wood and alder with a concoction of alder, were developed.

In the selection of colors, preference was shown for black, red and, to some extent yellow and blue. The same preference was shown in the selection of fabric of the appropriate color.

* * *

Such was the culture of the Yakut people up to the October Revolution. 175
Particularly important was the cultural assistance which the Yakuts 177
obtained from the fraternal Russian people during the prerevolutionary
years. In the 19th century it was mainly the political exiles, beginning
with the Decembrists, who spread culture through Yakutiya. There were 212
also other progressive Russian people who diffused the beginnings of
a cultivated way of life among the Yakuts. In particular, they laid the
foundations of the Yakut written language.

433 184 southern regions, agriculture and the processing industry in the central part, and reindeer-breeding and trapping in the northern regions.

489 501 Particular attention is given in Yakutiya to transportation. The socialist reconstruction of the new Republic began with almost a total lack of roads. The chief means of transportation was always and is still by boat. During the Five-Year Plans the transportation system has undergone a radical reorganization. Whereas in 1917 the entire Lena fleet consisted of 37 outmoded steamers and 113 barges, by the beginning of World War II the Yakut Republic had 127 steamers and more than 500 barges.

Before the Revolution steamer traffic was restricted basically to the upper and lower regions of the Lena as far as the mouth of the Vilyuy. At the present time steamers sail the whole length of the Lena, Vilyuy, Aldan, Olekma, Amga, Chara, and Maya, and all the other major northern rivers.

487 The development of the Yakut rivers is directly connected with a very important measure adopted by the Soviet government, namely, the opening up of the Northern Seaway, which through the heroic efforts of polar explorers, sailors and fliers has been turned into a permanently operating route. In the 1920's the Vladivostok-Kolyma routes were reopened. In 1932 the icebreaker Sibiryakov made a historic journey by sailing directly and without a stop from Archangel to Vladivostok. The heroic trip made by the Chelyuskin (1933) proved the navigability of the Northern Seaway for conventional-type steamships. In 1936 there was opened a route along the river Yana, in 1937 the Anabar, and in 1938 the Olekma and the Indigirka. The opening up of the Northern Seaway sharply stepped up the carriage of freight to the northern regions of Yakutiya.

The opening up of navigation in northern Yakutiya helped the economic resuscitation of this region. From that time on, the mining and fishing industries began to develop and strengthen. Commodity turnover increased sharply as a result. Coal, timber, salt and food products were delivered to the lower regions of various rivers from Yakutiya. The river routes now being exploited stretch more than 9000 kilometers—almost a quarter of the circumference of the globe.

River traffic has also speeded up. Comfortable double-decker ships of the Volga type run from Osetrovo to Yakutsk, a distance of about 2000 kilometers, in only 5 days.

In 1952 the Lena River Steamship Line acquired new powerful diesel ships of the latest Soviet type.

The Lena River route is now linked to the Siberian Sea artery by a direct railroad line (from Tayshet to Osetrovo docks).

491 The construction of overland roads has become a matter of nationwide interest in Yakutiya. About 2500 kilometers of permanent highways with winter road camps have been built. The construction and operation of highways have involved tremendous difficulties, such as coping with snowdrifts, ice floes, and ice-covered snow. Of the motor highways linking Yakutiya with the outside world, a particularly important one is the Amur-Yakutsk Highway which connects Aldan, and in winter Yakutsk, with the Ussuriysk railroad.

487 At the present time freight is brought into Yakutiya by four different routes: The Upper Lena wharves (Kachug, Zhigalovo), the Osetrovo wharf, the Amur-Yakutsk Highway, and the Northern Seaway.

Aviation routes connect Yakutsk with Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk and Moscow. The local lines in operation are Yakutsk-Aldan, Yakutsk-Bulun-Tiksi, etc.

177 206 207 The centuries-old isolation of this region from the chief centers of the country is now a thing of the past. Extensive development has also

177 taken place in such forms of communication as radio, telegraph and tele-
206 phone. Compared with 1940 the number of radio points in 1952 was more
207 than doubled. By this time communication had been established between Yakutsk and rural localities and machine-tractor stations, and 225 nasleg soviets had been linked by telephone. Many rayons and nasleg soviets are now equipped with radios.

205 The extent of the postal routes is 65,000 kilometers, practically twice the length of the equator.

Towns and Cities

633 The capital of the Yakut ASSR is the city of Yakutsk, which used to be the oblast center. Here are concentrated the most important Yakut Republic offices, ministries, banks, scientific institutes, and higher and secondary schools. During the Soviet period Yakutsk has been turned into a major
[365] industrial center. The water system laid in Yakutsk has the deepest water-intake point in the world. The problem of obtaining subsoil water for this water system was an extremely difficult one because of the permafrost. Engineers worked hard to solve this problem even before the Revolution, though never successfully. Soviet technicians and working people have solved it. Subpermafrost water is now fed into the main water supply. Stone bathhouses, mechanized laundries, barbershops and other such enterprises for the personal use of the population did not come into being until the Soviet regime. The streets of the city are paved with wood blocks and sidewalks have been constructed. Yakutsk is rapidly developing.

Over the last few years Yakutsk has been changing from wooden buildings to brick and sometimes reinforced concrete buildings. Bus routes between the city and neighboring regions are now in operation.

871 In Yakutsk there are 22 secondary, seven-year and primary schools.
368 They are attended by about 9000 children. In the city there are 16 tekhnikums, various courses, and a pedagogical institute, a Yakut Theatre of Music and Drama, a Russian drama theatre, two movie houses and seven clubs. The Pushkin Science Library, the Yaroslavskiy Yakutsk Regional Museum and the Yakutsk Museum of Fine Arts are great favorites with the citizens.

743 There are hospitals in the city and it is also there that the research institutes and laboratories are to be found. In 1947 a research base of the
744 USSR Academy of Sciences was opened there, and in 1949 it was turned into the Yakutsk branch of the Academy. In the same year there was opened a Yakutsk branch of the Tuberculosis Institute of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

Agriculture

241 In pre-Revolutionary Yakutiya the poor and middle peasant families
233 totaled more than 80 percent of all households. One-seventh of all the households were entirely without sowings, and many were only able to sow
565 a few hundredths of a hectare each. Most of the households (97 percent) had to do without factory-made agricultural implements. Stockbreeding produced extremely poor results. The owners of large areas of land and abundant livestock i.e.,—the kulaks and toyons, grew rich, but not so much by raising the level of land cultivation and animal husbandry as by exploiting the poor and middle peasants.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

342 glass, tambours (extra doors with an air lock in between) and zavalinkas (mounds of earth around the house). A common practice is to ice over the 354 house for the winter with a mixture of snow and water. Double ceilings, double floors, horizontal flues and shutters are still used, although rather rarely. The brick or tile stove is sometimes combined with the traditional Yakut fireplace. In many houses there is an extra iron stove in addition to the brick stove.

35 The internal appearance of dwellings has also changed. The furniture known before to the Yakuts (tables, stools and benches) has become less massive and more varied. We now find bookshelves, chairs, small dressing-tables and mirrors. Factory-made crockery and utensils are encountered in every home. Clocks (including alarm clocks), writing materials, and books have become common, and phonographs are also sometimes found. In most houses the walls are adorned with posters, pictures of Communist Party leaders, photographs, bookshelves, and over the bed there is usually a rug made of skin from the reindeer's head, bead-embroidered saddlecloths, or else the walls are covered with cloth. The windows have 77 curtains.

377 207 515 54 Tremendous changes have taken place in the way of life of the Yakuts. Many collective farms now have electricity and radio. Clean clothes, hot baths, and attention to their personal appearance are typical of most of the collective-farm members. There has been a change in interests, habits and way of life. The outlook of the population has broadened. Books can now be found in every house. In the settlements people enjoy movies, and attend lectures and discussions in the reading rooms. Young people take part in ski-races, chess and other sporting events. Amateur song and dance groups in the clubs are usually of interest to the whole settlement. The families are no longer isolated and no longer keep to themselves.

524 A typical innovation for city children is toys, such as figures of horses and cows, rubber dolls, rattles, clockwork trucks, and so on. In addition to these, we commonly find delicately carved wooden animals and tiny bows and arrows. In the schools and boarding facilities children amuse themselves with the most popular table games. In the spring and summer they play various games, including hide-and-seek and blind man's-buff.

262 A great deal has changed in the Yakut diet, as well.

It should be remembered that before the Revolution Yakutiya was a country of chronic famine. Most of the Yakut population suffered from starvation every year, particularly at the end of the winter and in spring. Bread has now become a normal food not only in the southern but also in the northern areas. Groats and macaroni are now part of the staple diet. The consumption of vegetables and potatoes has also considerably increased.

242 In many regions the collective farms grow cucumbers, radishes, cabbages, onions and beets. Vegetables are imported in the dehydrated form. 443 Everywhere the population is amply provided with tea, sugar, and tobacco. There are bakeries at trading points in most settlements. Meat and fish 262 are consumed by the Yakuts in large quantities, particularly in the northern regions, where they are the staple diet. In the southern regions an impor- 262 tant part of the diet is dairy products. On account of the overall improve- 177 ment in the living standards of the people, sapwood is no longer consumed 178 as food. Nor do they eat pickled fish any more. Local traditions are still retained in the cooking of dairy products, meat and fish. In the northern regions meat is commonly undercooked. Milk is made into some curious dishes such as suorat, khayakh, chokhoon, кобуер and so forth. In a number of regions reindeer gristle is still eaten in the raw state as a delicacy, and so are the liver and bone marrow of this animal. Many families eat freshly

175 101 and Muna on the Lena; the Edzhen group lived on the lower reaches and the Dongot group on the upper reaches of the Olenek. The ancestors of the Karyntuo probably also lived on the Olenek.

Clans with the name Dolgan and Edyan (Edzhen) were commonly found among the Evens and Evenks. For example, Dolgan clans are known in the regions of the Anadyr' and Gizhiga, on the Kamchatka and Okhotsk coast; Edzhen clans are known in the Aldan Basin, around the Ayan on the Okhotsk coast, and so on.

175 167 During the 18th century the ancestors of the present-day Dolgans migrated to the northwest, the Dolgan groups moving to the rivers Popigay and Khatanga, the Dongot and Edzhens to the Noril'sk Lakes region, and the Karyntuo to the Boganida River basin. Those left on the Lena became part of the local Yakut naslegs as separate clans.

The first Yakut settlers appeared at the end of the 17th century in the Khatanga Basin on the river Kheta, and from then on the influx continued to increase. In the 18th century these Yakuts formed into the Lower Tundra Yakut Volost.

175 177 [224] [342] Even before the Yakuts—at the beginning of the first half of the 17th century—the rivers Pyasina, Dudypta, Boganida, Kheta, and Khatanga were settled by Russian hunters and trappers who founded the ancient Russian population of these places, subsequently known as tundra peasants. They were chiefly concerned with fishing, and to a lesser extent with hunting. It was from them in particular that the Dolgans and Nganasans learned to set pitfall traps for the polar fox. The influence of their Russian neighbors has long been evident in the dwellings and everyday life of the Dolgans, that is to say, during the migration to the Taymyr.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the gap between the culture and everyday life of the different groups of the population in this territory began to narrow. The Yakut language became predominant and was absorbed not only by originally Tungus groups, but also by a large number of tundra peasants. Intermarriage swept away the former barriers between the Evenks, Yakuts and Russians to an ever greater extent.

648 The system of tsarist administration was no different here from what existed in any other part of Northern Siberia. The Dolgans, Yakuts and Evenks had to pay the fur-tax as "natives" and formed "clans" headed by princelings, while the tundra peasants were forced to pay a poll tax, were formed into a "community" and headed by an elder. People living many hundreds of kilometers away from the nearest centers were economically dependent on the merchants who monopolized supplies to the region, bought up all the furs, and cruelly exploited the population.

Economy and Everyday Life

433 221 [361] The main occupations of the Dolgans of the past were reindeer-breeding, hunting, and, in certain regions, fishing. Until quite recently the Dolgans were still leading a nomadic life. Their nomadizing was basically of two types. In the region of the Noril'sk Lakes and in the basin of the Popigay, they retained a more archaic system of nomadizing and did not leave, generally speaking, the forest-tundra belt, but kept to the forest-covered river valleys in the winter, and wandered back to the bare steppes for the summer. The winter camps of other groups of Dolgans stretched along the forest-tundra belt from Lake Pyasino to the lower reaches of the Popigay. These were typical "edge-of-the-forest" dwellers. The winter was spent in the forest-tundra with slight deviations south of the northern boundary of the forest vegetation, while the summer was passed in the tundra,

somewhat to the north of this boundary. The migration from winter to summer camps and back was made in the spring or fall. 221

In winter, the families of Noril'sk and Popigay Dolgans lived apart from 361
one another, often singly. The remainder still continued to nomadize along
the northern edge of the forest and formed the chain of "stations" of the 221
winter Noril'sk-Popigay highway; this consisted of groups of 5-10 households, some of the stations comprising groups of permanent dwellings. But since reindeer require frequent change of pasture, the camps of separate families and the entire stations, and the reindeer-herders living in the Russian-type houses as well, had to change their place of residence several times during the course of the winter.

As spring approached and the camps broke up, the Dolgans formed into nomadic groups. These groups were combined on a territorial basis and
were bound by common economic interests. Associations of this kind meant [233]
that a smaller number of herdsmen was required for the reindeer since it
took fewer people to look after a large herd than several small ones. In the spring, as soon as the grass appeared, and in the summer, during the season of the mosquitoes and other harmful insects, the Dolgans watched their herds the whole day through, appointing sentries from each household in turn. The nomadic Dolgans wandered along lakes, rivers and mountains. In the autumn, when the insects disappeared, each group of nomads divided up once more into separate families, which then nomadized in the region of their polar-fox traps, setting them again for the winter, or else hunted singly for wild reindeer until it was time to go back to the camps.

The reindeer-breeding of the Dolgans combined the traditions of the 233
Tungus breeding for purposes of riding, with devices and techniques bor-
rowed from the herders of the Samoyedic groups. Thus, the Dolgans used 177 ●
reindeer both for riding and carrying (in summer) and at the same time 492
made extensive use of reindeer sled-teams (in winter). But even in the first half of the 19th century the Dolgans in some parts only used their reindeer for riding. The various types of sleds are fundamentally similar to the Nennish and Nganasan types, but they also have the Yakut type with its low,
straight staves. The harnessing technique differed from that of the Nentsy; [171]
the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the rein on the right,
whereas among the Nentsy, Entsy and Nganasans the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the left-hand rein (it should be noted in this connection that the Evenks and Dolgans, even when riding reindeer, mount from the right and also guide it from the right). The system of milking reindeer, typical of the Evenks, was retained by the Dolgans; like the Nentsy and Nganasans they also used herd dogs. The saddles and riding techniques of the Dolgans were of the Tungus type.

The Dolgans hunted polar fox, wild reindeer and various wildfowl in- 224
cluding duck, geese and partridge. Until quite recently they still used bows and arrows for the purpose, obtaining them from the Kets, via the Russians, and also from the Yakuts and southern Evenks. The Dolgans also had self-triggered bows for killing reindeer, which they set up in the forest
preserves east of the Khatanga. According to legend, in the remote past [173]
the Dolgans used to hunt reindeer with slings and throwing-arrows.

The Dolgans attributed great importance to collective reindeer spearing in the autumn at river crossings, and to various hunting techniques with guns (which replaced the old bow and arrow). In the winter, the animals were hunted by means of specially trained decoy reindeer. In the winter they hunted reindeer with guns and bows and arrows almost entirely by the chasing technique: 4 strong reindeer were harnessed to a light sled and the herd was trailed for hours on end. Another form of winter hunting

towards the reindeer in complete silence, and in summer they wore a protective 224
gray coat the color of the stony tundra. Both in summer and autumn, [292]
until the first snow fell, the Dolgans used to trail wild reindeer with hunting
dogs. They used poisoned bullets, and probably poisoned arrows as well
in the past. As the poison they used rancid reindeer fat. The Dolgans living [481]
in the forest-tundra had wide skis of the Tungus type, but they could not
use them in the tundra on account of the drifts.

Hunting wild reindeer was only of importance as a source of meat and skin for the Dolgans' own semisubsistence economy.

For catching geese they set traps or arranged noose-type snares by the 223
nests, and also drove moulting geese into nets set up in advance or harried them with dogs and then killed them with sticks. Ducks were trapped with special nets stretched across lakes. Partridges were also caught this way, though only in winter. Sometimes a live female partridge was tied to the net as bait.

Polar-fox hunting was of quite considerable economic importance and 224
produced the principal commercial yield. The animals were mainly caught
with traps and snares. As it seized hold of the bait, the fox pulled away a [177]
stick and released a log which fell onto it. The principle of this trap was borrowed from the Russians; up to that time they had only set self-firing bows on stakes driven into the ground to catch the animals.

The commonest type of fishing tackle both in summer and winter under 226
the ice was an upright net 6–30 m long. The nets were made of threads or horsehair brought from Yakutya. In the Noril'sk Rayon the nets were used
in the autumn in mountain rivers. The draught animal employed for this [492]
purpose was the reindeer and the ropes from the net were attached to its saddle. Other types of nets were used to a very limited degree. Seines were also commonly used for sterlet, burbot, pike and grayling and trout with hooks prefabricated from bent 10-cm nails. Burbot was also caught with special bone points instead of hooks.

For traveling by water, mainly for fishing purposes, there were tree-trunk 505
canoes brought by the merchants from the Yenisey, or bought from the Yakuts. There were few boats; it was only on the rivers Pyasina and Khatanga that they were used.

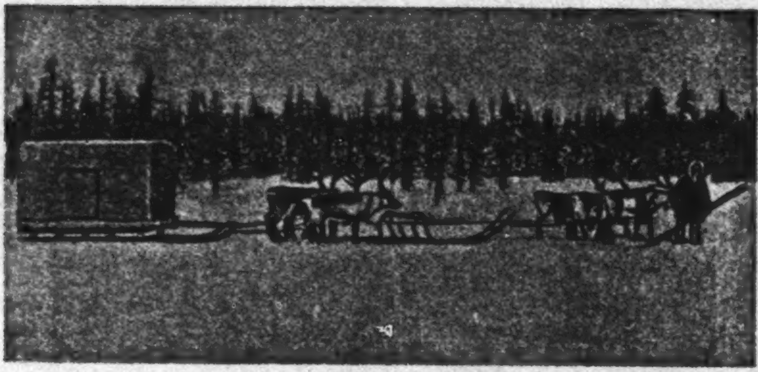
The Dolgans subsisted mainly on meat and fish. These were boiled or 262
dried and the fish was also eaten in the raw, frozen and unfrozen forms. Fish was also kept in pits where it was pickled. Dead geese were kept buried in the ground. Certain roots were also eaten; they were dug up with reindeer horns or special wooden trowels.

The old type of nomadic dwelling among the Dolgans was the conical
Tungus-type tent covered with thin panels of suede (in the summer) and 342
deerhide (in the winter). In the old days the Dolgans, like the Evenks, built huts of the Yakut type, but without the windows, benches and hearth.

With the advent of the Russians the huts were gradually ousted by sled-tents
or baloks. These are little huts on runners. The framework consists 342
of wooden struts tightly covered with bright-colored calico, and on top, to 177
keep it warm, there is a layer of deerskin and a canvas cover to guard against damp. In this kind of dwelling there are two windows with glass, an iron stove, bunks, a table, and sometimes even chairs. Whereas the erection of a pole tent required a great deal of labor during the cold winters, this type of tent can simply be pulled along the ground to a new site. These tents were borrowed in the last century from Russian merchants who traveled in them through the tundra.

Among other structures we should point out storehouses standing on 343
high piles for keeping winter clothing and utensils.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan



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Winter dwelling, sled tent.

There are more than a dozen versions of the Dolgan national costume, all with their special names, though only different in a few trivial details. The characteristic feature of both men's and women's clothing is a slightly elongated coattail at the back. The Dolgans themselves explain this by the fact that when sitting down on the cold ground in a tent they can spread out the long coattail underneath them. 291

Even before the Revolution household clothing for men and women was made of bought material. Men wore shirts and trousers of the Russian style, and women wore dresses, on top of which they put on aprons without openings. Both the men's shirts and the women's aprons almost always had side pockets and were embroidered with narrow colored piping and numerous buttons. They did not wear any underclothing. 291 177

In the summer and winter men and women wore a cloth coat called the sontap. In the winter they wore a second fox-fur or hareskin coat beneath it. In the winter instead of the cloth coats they sometimes wore the deerskin open dokha (parka) or short coat, and ventless fur clothing with a hood with the fur outside, i.e., the sokuy. When traveling the men wore a sokuy over their cloth coat or deerskin parka. In rainy summer weather a cloth sokuy was put on. In the winter the women wore a son or long polar-fox or hareskin coat, on top of which they had a sontap or sangyyak (deerskin coat). Men and women girdled their clothing with bead-studded belts. The mukalkaan, a bead-embroidered men's parka, was close to the Even type. The old-fashioned men's and women's aprons were also similar to the Even type. Men's and women's hats (bergese) were shaped like hoods. The top was cut from fox feet or from cloth, and was embroidered with beads or finished with narrow bands of colored cloth. Winter footwear was made of deer feet and came in two types: a type reaching to the knee or higher, corresponding to the Evenk boot and often ornamented with beads. 291 [531]

Summer footwear was made of suede. A hole was made in the middle of the sole in summer footwear so that any water leaking inside during walking could run out.

Social Relations and Religion

By the time the Russians arrived, the Dolgans were splitting up into clans. Kinship was reckoned on the male side. There were certain traces 614 611
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The personal property of the collective-farm members includes herds of reindeer 474
(up to 100 head), transport equipment, vertical nets, hunting guns and
hunting and fishing tackle. Reindeer-herding remains the chief branch of 421
the economy, but is now done in accordance with good animal husbandry 233
practice. A reindeer technician and a veterinary assistant are attached to 232
each team, which looks after a subherd.]

The Dolgan reindeer-herders on the collective farms pasture the herds 474
in good grazing ground, far from the herding tent by day, and as night falls
drive them back to the tent. Having rested, the reindeer at midnight begin 233
to feed near the tent; at dawn they are driven to new feeding grounds some
distance away. This grazing system, on the one hand, keeps the reindeer
well fed and, on the other hand, they do not stray during the night and are
easy to watch. Twenty-four-hour-a-day, year-round guarding of the reindeer
has become a rule in collective herding. 177

[The herd of reindeer is constantly growing. Thus, in the Avamskiy 233
Rayon, the number of reindeer increased over the last five-year period,
by more than 50%. The necessity of yearly migrations along the tundra 492
from Dudinka to the Anabar has been eliminated; previously this had a
most unfavorable effect on Dolgan reindeer-herding. The demand for pack-reindeer
has been reduced, due to the carriage of goods into the Avamskiy
and Khatangskiy Rayons by the Northern Sea Route; from here they are 177
brought to remote inland points by steamboat or cutter. Previously, the 487
only route connecting the Dudinka with the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons
in the winter was the reindeer highway from Dudinka to Popigay. Connec- 489
tions are now maintained winter and summer by airplane, although reindeer
transport is still of some importance. Its technology is unchanged.

[Hunting technology has been reconstructed. Traps are set in the autumn 177
before the beginning of the blizzards. For this purpose, hunting brigades 224
sometimes journey to the north for several hundred kilometers into the
taiga, spending the nights in sled-tents with iron stoves. Hunting brigades
are made up before the beginning of the season, traps being distributed on
the basis of 150-200 pitfall traps and 10 springtraps per hunter. With the
first snow the brigades go out into the tundra and begin to hunt wild reindeer.
Foxtraps are baited with the surplus meat obtained. In the Khatangskiy
Rayon alone, where the majority of the hunters are Dolgans, the
collective farms during the 1948-49 season set 5000 new pitfall traps and
prepared 1000 bait-pits for foxes, in which they placed more than 40 tons
of bait.

[Fox-hunting begins on November 15th. Springtraps are placed by
experienced hunters at places where wild reindeer have been killed in the
autumn, or on the bloody tracks of wounded wild reindeer near bait-pits,
or previously discovered burrows. Hunting is the main source of income
for Dolgan collective farms. The previous predatory methods have gone
out of use—spearings, stockades, geese nets. Fishing has become important 226
in a number of areas. Vegetable-gardening and animal husbandry (other 241
than reindeer) have developed on many Dolgan collective farms. The
members grow chiefly radishes, cabbage and onions. 231

[A process of settling down the previously nomadic population is in 474
progress. In the new settlements where the collective-farm members 177
whose work does not make them nomadic live, dwelling-houses of the 361
Russian type have been built, along with various other farm and public
buildings. Many settlements have their own electric stations.] 342

The members of reindeer-herding and hunting brigades lead a nomadic
life. Their families frequently travel with them. Separate nomadic groups 221
are now set up, not on the basis of individual relations among different

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Kindergarten on a walk. Taymyr National Okrug, Khatangskiy Rayon.

families, but on the initiative of the collective-farm administration, and 221
their routes are determined in the same way. Fishing brigades sent to fish
in some river or lake lead a settled life there, partly in houses built by the 226
collective farm at the fishing grounds. 474

[The Dolgans, particularly the descendants of the tundra peasants, had
Russian cottages even before the Revolution. They now build sturdy houses, 177
using both imported lumber and driftwood. The old-fashioned pole tent is 342
now used only in the summer.

[The Dolgan diet now includes bread, flour, and tea, boiled strong and 177
taken with sugar. Supplies are brought in regularly to the local stores.
Medical aid is available at 40 medical and medical-assistant points. The 262
Dolgan-Yakut population is served by hospitals at Noril'sk and in the 743
settlements of Chernoye, Volochanka and Khatanga. In 1953 there were 871
52 schools, including 3 seven-year schools, in the Taymyr National Okrug.
The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by schools at Chernoye, Dolgany,
Volochanka, Kheta, Khatanga, Popigay and other points.

* * *

Yakut RV2

I [546 cont.]
121 Undoubtedly, the man's death was caused by the soul of the anchor,
which had been offended by the damage to its abode, and it took
revenge. Its great power was thus demonstrated; whereupon the
Y anchor was worshiped and became a fetish. One more example:
[776 Wuttke mentions that the Jakoeten [Yakut] saw a camel for the
755] first time just as there was an outbreak of smallpox among them.
● 177] Since then the camel has been regarded as a hostile god. In
this instance, too, we find the two conditions for the emergence
of a fetish. On the one hand, the camel, an animal that had
never been seen before, and, on the other hand, the smallpox.
The two things were linked in a causal connection. The spirit
that was embodied in the camel, the soul of the camel, was a
powerful spirit; the camel thus became a fetish.

Therefore, there are four factors that lead to fetishistic worship: 1. the presence of a peculiar, rare, and therefore in many cases valuable object; 2. [547] the theosophic idea of that object as living, feeling, and willing; 3. the idea of a causal connection between that object and a particular phenomenon; and 4. following directly from the first three points, the recognition of the object as something powerful and for this reason to be feared and worshiped. Close attention shows that the savage actually does not worship the object itself, but its soul, which he has come to know as powerful and to be feared. He does this unconsciously, however. He does not separate the soul from the object, but regards both as an entity and worships the one as well as the other (1). We must thus continue to regard fetishism as the worship of perceptible objects as animated beings.

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1. Nieman, "de Godsdienst der Bataks [The Religion of the Batak], *Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. L. en Vk.*, 1870, I, p. 291.
Tiele, *Een probleem v. d. godsdienstwetenschap* [A Problem of Theology], p. 210 and *passim.*

177.10 - 177.88

6: Sauer--112-113 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-1-2
116, 161, 178, 651, 177. 65 Russia
636. 65

"Their number is computed at Yakutsk to be 50,000 males; but I am inclined to think that they are not so numerous; and my reasons are these: They say themselves, that in 1780 they were more numerous than they are now, much better circumstanced, and in an increasing state. At that time they had only one Commander and his Assistant. (1)

> 1. I am here induced to remark, that before the Empress Catherine II established governments and courts of justice throughput the empire (1782), all these distant towns and districts were governed by a voyavod and his secretary, and Cossacs were sent among the tributary tribes to enforce the imperial mandates. On the establishment of the government, every town had its mayor and different courts of justice allowed; so that there now exist many towns in these remote parts, where the inhabitants consist of government people only.

Upon the Socha chiefs bringing their annual tribute, they always observed the custom of shewing their particular attachment, by making these gentlemen a [113] trifling present of furs, horses, and cattle, and supplying their table with flesh, fish, milk, and butter, and also with wild fowl. Considering their immense possessions, and the cheapness of all the articles, these presents were never felt as of any consequence by the

6: Sauer--112-113 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-2
116, 161, 178, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

individuals who made them. At present, however, their stock is considerably diminished, not amounting to one tenth part of what it was. Instead of having only the voyavod and his secretary to deal with, they now know not how many commanders they have to pay their respects to. A commandant, a captain of the district, a director of economy, judges of the different courts of justice, with their secretaries and dependants, and other officers, are occasional travellers among them; beside which, they complain of numberless exactions according to the arbitrary will of their superiors, only authorised by their own presumption.

These circumstances undoubtedly discourage the activity of the Yakut, who no longer endeavors to procure wealth, because it is the likeliest means of making him the object of persecution. Thus property, tranquillity, and population decrease. The princes or chiefs dwelling near towns acquire their luxuries, and oppress their dependant tribes to procure wine and brandy in addition to their koumis: this was never known among them till the year 1785. I will farther add, that in 1784 the district of Gigansk produced 4834 tributary natives; but in 1789 their number amounted only to 1938. Mr. Bonnar, the captain of the district of Zashiversk, told me, that the tributary nations in his circle amounted to only half the number that they were five years ago and that these were very poor indeed."

9: Stadling--112 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 167, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

"The historical records of those times, scanty though they are, serve, in addition to the traditions of the natives, to show the manner in which the latter were subjugated to Russian rule. Having by finesse or by firearms made themselves lords and masters, and robbed the natives of their furs and skins, these scoundrels compelled them to contribute annually, under the name of Yassak or taxes, a large quantity of sable and other valuable furs, and in consequence they were soon reduced to extreme want and famine. A large number of them fled to the most distant parts of the country to the north and north-east, but the invaders followed them even down to the Arctic sea and to the border of the land of the Tschuktchis, compelling them to pay the Yassak. These adventurers met with very little resistance; only the then numerous Yukagirs and Lamuts fought bravely for their liberty, and, later, the courageous Tschuktchi, who up to this day, though nominally under Russian rule, have in reality preserved their independence."

9: Stadling--112-114 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut-1-3
116, 175, 669, 687, 177.68 Russia
636.68

"A merchant of Yakutsk in those early times has left a description in a manuscript, which has been preserved, of the way in which the natives were treated. He says: 'The Vojevodes or Military Governors began their rule by imposing the most intolerable burdens in the way of taxes, which went not only to the government, but also to appease the insatiable covetousness of the tax-gatherers. They oppressed, tormented, and tortured [113] the subjugated natives, under pretext of their taxes being in arrear, but the amount of these taxes was never fixed'. Driven to despair by these constant extortions, the natives revolted, but these risings were quenched in blood, thanks to the firearms of their oppressors. A whole series of the most barbarous punishments were then inflicted on the rebels. By order of the vojevode Golovin, the ears and noses of the rebellious Yakuts were cut off and their eyes put out; they were suspended by iron hooks fastened in their backs and between their ribs, and some of them were buried alive. Within the old fort there was a special torture-chamber, where the torture-master worked from early in the morning till late at night. A short respite was afforded the natives when quarrels arose between the vojevodes Gleboff and Golovin over the spoil. Golovin, who was dismissed and punished with the knout, was succeeded by a number of vojevodes who remained only a short time at their post. But the extortions from the natives did not diminish, and their sufferings became intolerable when Andrei Afanasevitch Baryschnieff was appointed to the office of vojevode in Yakutsk in

9: Stadling--112-114 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut-2
116, 175, 669, 687, 177.68 Russia
636.68

the year 1675. It was during his rule that political offenders and sectarians began to be exiled to the province of Yakutsk, the former usually arriving there with their tongues cut out. 'When Baryschnieff entered on his office,' says the above-quoted Moskvin in his narrative, 'a régime of veritable terrorism began. Almost every day sectarians and natives were executed in Yakutsk in the most barbarous manner.' The smallest offences were [114] punished in the most horrible way. The culprits were cut in pieces, burnt alive, boiled alive in kettles, etc.

This fiend of a vojevode was replaced by a certain Priktonsky, under whose rule the Yakuts made, in 1682, their last effort to throw off the foreign yoke. Many sectarians and some Kossacks joined the rebels. The revolt was suppressed and followed by the usual monstrous cruelties. One of the leaders of the revolt, Dschennik, for example, who had been wounded and brought to Yakutsk, was skinned alive! Those who were left of the beaten Yakuts fled to the Vilui, Yana, and Kolyma.

The reform-movement which passed over European Russia in the beginning of the 18th century did not at all touch the far-off Yakuts. Only larger and denser did the throngs of exiles sent to Yakutsk become, and they increased still more during the troublous times immediately after the death of Peter I., many of the noblest and greatest sons of Russia being expatriated to the distant tundras of Yakutsk to be buried alive

9: Stadling--112-114 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut-3
116, 175, 669, 687, 177.68 Russia
636.68

near the Arctic sea. The vojevodes still continued to rule as tsars in Yakutsk, official 'Revisors,' who were sent there to investigate into their rule, were imprisoned, knouted, and sent back to Irkutsk."

7: Shklovsky -- 72-73 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 563 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

"The haillak [RCH: i.e., the transported Russian criminal] knows perfectly well that all is ended for him when he is once in Kolymsk; escape is impossible, for no human being can penetrate the polar forest, and to his exasperation is added a gloomy despair. He is sent to a Yakutian camp (Oulooss) and the Yakuts have to maintain him. They build a hut for him, give him a horse, supply him with meat, fish, frozen cream, tea--in a word, everything. In their reckoning each haillak costs the Oulooss ten or twelve roubles per month, and this, when the Yakuts themselves are obliged to live on bark, flavoured with a little sour milk, and when in the Verkhoyansk region they are obliged to eat field-mice so that they may not die of starvation. In order to protect their wives and daughters from the haillak, the Yakuts give him an orphan girl with whom to cohabit. Pitiable indeed is the plight of this wretched girl! Her terrible tyrant rules her with fist and cudgel, and her face is never free from bruises. The haillak so despises the Yakuts that, though he may live for years among them, the only word of their language which he will condescend to learn is 'give!.' Life under these conditions is equally intolerable on both sides. The Yakuts regard the haillak as vermin, as a savage, wicked beast that drains their life; as an evil satyr who will violate wives and daughters in the presence of their husbands [73] and fathers. On the other hand, the criminal forced to live among savages, who do not understand him, feels his position to be worse than solitary confinement. Finally, driven to desperation, he does something terrible in order to compel the

7: Shklovsky -- 72-73 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 563, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

authorities to remove him from this accursed region. While I was in the Kolymsk district one of these criminals, without any reason, threw the child of a small chieftain into a fire and held him there with an iron rod until he was burnt to death. Despair gave courage to the Yakuts. They sprang upon him, bound him, and took him to Sredne-Kolymsk, and from there to Yakutsk, where he was sentenced to twelve years' hard labour."

7: Shklovsky --73 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 563, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

"Near Nijne Kolymsk there is a clan of eighteen Yakuts who have to maintain fourteen of these transported criminals. It is difficult to believe, but it is a fact that the entire clan are the slaves of the haillaks. The Yakuts give to each haillak everything necessary --draw-nets, nets, dogs, sledges, etc.; the savages themselves, having no nets of their own, work for him, receiving for themselves only one-third of the total catch. Very often the haillak will trade all the things for drink, and then demand new ones."

7: Shklovsky --74-75 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut 7-1-2
116, 174, 563, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

"But what is the explanation of their abject fear of the haillak [RCH: i. e., the transported Russian criminal] and their subservience to him? One reason is of remote origin. The ancestors of the Kolymyan Yakuts were fugitive insurgents, who escaped after their defeat under Djennik, their leader. These people fled to Kolyma in deadly fear [75] after the horror of the suppression of the revolt. The ferocious tortures and executions of that time are still kept in remembrance by song and story from one generation to another. The Yakuts tremble at the mere mention of 'Russian,' and a haillak is to them the personification of all the cruel enemies mentioned in those terrible stories. The Yakut always calls him 'Tayon' (lord or master), and the haillak treats the Yakuts as his ancestors treated theirs, the poor savages enduring it all; indeed, they believe that the haillak is sent to them in order to make their lives bitter. That is one reason. Another is the absolutely unprotected condition of the Yakuts. The region is so vast that the solitary Russian official is unable to help them even if he wished to do so. It is terrible to speculate on the ultimate fate of these poor savages, when, as is probable, criminals will be sent in greater numbers to the remotest parts of Siberia. Then will the Farthest North-East be a veritable hell, where the groaning and torment of the wretched savages will never cease except with their lives.

Kind-hearted people tried to find out how to help a score or so of lepers-- a very laudable scheme--but perhaps kind-hearted people will also be found willing to find out

7: Shklovsky --74-75 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut-2
116, 174, 563, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

how to cure, not a few score,but the whole race of Yakuts of a not less terrible leprosy, which is eating away their morals and destroying their economic position; and the name of this leprosy is haillak."

7: Shklovsky -- 83-84 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

"Almost all the prisoners in the Yakutsk prison whether sentenced or under trial, expectiong a small number of Yakuts, belonged to the exiled element. [84]

The total number of the exiles in this region is 6,090 (5,155 men and 935 women).

Classified into districts the numbers are as follows: --

	Men.	Women.
Yakutsk	3,805	693
Olekminsk	740	122
Viluisk	471	114
Verkhoyansk	76	2
Kolymsk	63	4
	5,155	935

Deducting from this total 154 political prisoners (132 men, 22 women) and 1233 religious fanatics (754 men, 479 women) there remains a formidable army of haillaks, numbering 4,703, who are an intolerable burden on the shoulders of the unhappy Yakuts.

The above figures are taken from the Revision of the Yakutsk district, 1889."

7: Shklovsky -- 224 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 173, 697, 177.69 Russia
636.69

"There is a vague tradition that many years ago the Yakuts lived in the south by the sea near the Mongols, (1) but that in the time of the great warriors they went farther north

1. Probably by Mongols is meant Bouriats.

to the Lena. They were pursued by the Mongols, who tried to kill them all, but happily the moon waned, and, as the Mongols never make war between full moon and new moon, the Yakuts took advantage of this interval to travel as fast as possible to where they now live. The Yakuts in this part of the country are healthier, more energetic, and less oppressed than their brothers in the Far North-East, for the criminal settlers have not so much liberty. The Oulooss tries at first to get rid of the criminal by giving him butter, a sack of barley meal, and 10s. if he will go away and never return, and those who do return meet with a very unpleasant reception. Frequently there are terrible murders, the Yakuts throwing the criminals into ice-holes, which they can do without fear: for the criminals, being outlaws, have no rights."

7: Shklovsky -- 218 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 191, 871, 177.87 Russia
637.87

"Lately the nember of students at Yakutsk has increased, but not long ago the majority of merchants and traders were entirely illiterate, and even the most aristocratic among them spoke only Yakutian. Now there is a seminary, also a secondary school, preparatory schools for girls, a Yakutian missionary school, and five municipal elementary schools. The total number of scholars in all the schools is 488, out of 6,499 inhabitants. The secondary school was founded in 1892 and the account is interesting. Thirteen years previously the town authorities asked permission from the Government to open a secondary school for modern subjects without classics, and permission was granted to open a preparatory school in classics. The Yakuts, who only imperfectly understood Russian, were compelled to learn the details of Latin grammar, by means of which they would of course bring civilisation and culture to their native Ouloos! And even now the scholastic system leaves much to be desired."

7: Shklovsky -- 220 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 871, 177.87 Russia
636.87

"It is easy to imagine the state of affairs which existed in the remote province of Yakutsk, and what kind of classic literature was there taught to the Yakuts. After thirteen years, permission was given to open a school for modern subjects without classics. Education has now made great strides in Yakutsk, I even know several Yakuts who went in carts by a slow and tedious journey to Tomsk, 4500 versts from Yakutsk, and there studied at the university, afterwards passing the examination with great distinction. The late Governor of Yakutsk, Svetlitsky (afterwards transferred to Irkutsk), was especially kind to the students, and after his departure sincere grief was long felt by everyone. Every Yakut knows of Governor Svetlitsky, who was the most humane and enlightened of men, and whose influence had an ennobling effect even upon the rough people whom travellers meet in Yakutsk."

14: Krauss--166 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
116, 178, 756, 797, 177.79 Russia
636.79

The destruction of the Yakut state by a small crowd of strangers, and the administrative measures which were taken by the orthodox conquerors, necessarily impaired the position of the ancient Yakut gods. They soon began to be forgotten. The activity of the missionaries gave this development further support.

It so happened that the gods have been almost entirely forgotten. "I cannot but state," Mr. Middendorf says, "that, upon my questions concerning the peculiar qualities of certain demons and their names, I could get no information, and, upon more urgent querying, only learned that it might have been like that in ancient times. Their religion, which had been flourishing one time, has been forgotten. I saw fragments only; survivals of a former doctrine." The present religious conception, Theodor Solovjev states 30 years later in his article on "Die Ueberreste des Heidentums bei den Jakuten," are permeated with Christian elements. Christian monotheism is the background of their conceptions. The actual state of things evidently represents the last phase of vanishing shamanism.

Nevertheless, the outward conditions of life have hardly changed after the Russian conquest. There is always the same uncertainty of existence; the unsatisfactory conditions for men as well as for animals continue to exist. The sacrificial priests still everywhere and always hold position and duties of priests, physicians, and fortunetellers (prophets).

15: Popov --262 E-3 (no date) 1933 Yakut
116, 326, 782, 756, 177.78 Russia
636.78

"A description of the sacrifice to the deity by the blacksmiths is given in the literature by Kornilov. (2) Due to the interesting details I quote it verbatim: 'The ceremony takes over the three year old black bull. The shaman takes the soul of the bull and hands it to Kitai Bahsi saying, 'I have brought to you a sacrifice for this man; do not harm him but make a blacksmith out of him.' After the shamanistic ceremony the heart of the animal is extracted with iron tongs and is placed on the anvil. The initiated must strike it with the hammer and smash it. If he crushes it with one blow he will be a good blacksmith, if he requires more, he will be medium or bad.' The custom described by Kornilov is very likely older than the one described below, as is indicated by the more cruel method of killing the animal. This method, not especially ritualistic but not general in the old times, was abandoned by order of the Russian authorities."

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2. Op. cit.

16: Great Britain Admiralty --164 [3] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

" The Russians used to tax the Yakuts in furs; now they tax them in coin. A poll-tax of 4 roubles is or was levied on them, the richer among them paying income tax as well."

16: Great Britain Admiralty--168 [4] G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 771, 776, 825, 177.77 Russia
636.77

"The Yakuts have been nominally Christian since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Tsar declared that they had merited this privilege, of which many of them remained absolutely unconscious. They go to church, but have a very hazy idea of their nominal religion. Their native chief god is Tangra. They have also many malevolent spirits, who are distinguished by the names of colours; cattle and horses are sacred to the spirit whose colour they bear."

17: Erman--258-260 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1+3
116, 291, 511, 557, 177.55 Russia
636.55

"Sunduki and Nyuis are likewise Yakutian villages, with a small share of Russian population. The dwellings here are extremely neat, and both the food and clothing of the people bear witness to their comfortable circumstances. The women, generally, wear in the house, a gown of some coloured web; the men wear short over-coats of reindeer skin, with the hair turned in, and the outside leather-coloured. A young Yakutian woman replied to me, with great naïvetè, as I was commending her housekeeping, 'That all the Russians now seemed to think as I did, for they were no longer above marrying a Yakut.' In [259] fact, the envy which the opulence of the Asiatics has usually awakened in the minds of the European invaders, takes here the deceitful appearance of esteem. The Russians flatter the strong, because these will not allow themselves to be imposed upon.

The lowest temperature to-day was —2 R. The morning was cloudy, and snow fell a little before noon. After that the sky became quite clear, and continued so for half an hour, till we found ourselves beyond Bukhturminsk, between high cliffs. Then there came on suddenly a gust, with a whirlwind from the west; in a few seconds the upper part of the heavens was covered with thick and heavy clouds. Before us dark streaks hung down from the edges of the lowering masses, without touching the horizon, and while I was thinking how like this looked to a summer hail-storm, we heard, all at once,

17: Erman--258-260 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut- 2
116, 291, 511, 557, 177.55 Russia
636.55

the rattling of the falling stones, and were overwhelmed with compact and heavy pieces of ice. They had the form of tetrahedrons, three lines long on each side, and, when crushed, broke into regular triangular laminae. They wanted only the rounding off of one of the surfaces which is usually seen in summer hail. Taken in conjunction with what I thus experienced myself, some meteorological statements of the peasants in Dubrova seemed important. They told me that in their country there were hail storms in winter too, and, in answer to a question of mine, they asserted, that they had also known instances of thunder and lightning in winter; such a storm had occurred, for instance, the preceding year, about Christmas, with mist, after very severe frost. On the north-west coast of America, indeed, where the humid and warm sea air falls on the cold land, I have known hail and electric storms in winter, but such a phenomenon in the middle of the continent was quite unexpected. Storms of this kind are unknown in Irkutsk and in Yakutsk, and must therefore be regarded as local effects of the air issuing from the narrower parts of the valley. In fact, the suddenness of congelation and precipitation which gives rise to hail and electric clouds, suggest themselves to the mind when we think of the humid air from between the cliffs, with the much colder air of the adjacent plains; and, accordingly, winter hail and winter thunder-storms appear to characterize the region of goitre on the Lena, as distinctly as the absence of summer hail characterizes

17: Erman--258-260 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-3

116, 291, 511, 557, 177.55 Russia

636.55

the valleys of the Alps where cretinism is most prevalent.

We arrived in the morning at the Russian houses of Yerbinsk, thirty-five versts from Nyuis, which lie on the left [260] bank, in a fertile opening of the valley encircled by hills, on which pine woods are intermingled with bare rocks. On the way here from Irkutsk, I had hitherto always observed a very weak eastern declination of the magnetic needle; we were therefore not far from the line of no declination. Here, in Yerbinsk, it was apparent that we had crossed that line yesterday for the third time in the course of our journey, and that we were now again, as we had been in Kiakhta and in Europe, in a division of the earth having a western declination."

17: Erman-- 273-274 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 115, 622, 631, 177.63 Russia
636.63

"In Ulakhansk, sixty-one versts from Toyon aruin, I met in the yard where we alighted a noble chieftain of the Yakuts, who was on his way to a judicial inquiry. He was distinguished from the rest of his countrymen by superior stature, for the Yakuts, though broad-shouldered and very strong-boned, are collectively not above the middle size. He was also in good case, as befits, according to the ideas of the Yakuts, those who are well off; for the adage says, 'To eat much meat and to grown fat upon it, is the highest destiny of men.' I admired this man's frock, made of blue cloth with red facings and white metal buttons; it had an old-fashioned European look, and was, doubtless, made in imitation of some suit of honour presented to one of his predecessors by the Tsar. He gave me to understand, however, with national pride, that his genuine Yakutian cap was better worth looking at and more valuable also. It was lined with squirrel-skins, and outside was very artificially made up of sable, otter, and black fox furs; it had, moreover, very odd-looking appendages made of the fur of the glutton, which hung down over his back.

This chief's feelings respecting the dignity of his nation, and above all, of his own dignity, displayed themselves throughout all his conversation, which he carried on in broken Russian.--Thus, he always named Yakutsk 'the city of the Yakuts;' and he congratulated me on my prospect of soon visiting its rich yurts. He told me that the administration of justice, and the general internal management of society among the

17: Erman--273-274 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-2
116, 115, 622, 631, 177.63 Russia
636.63

Yakuts, are still left in their hands. Their immediate chiefs and magistrates are still of their own nation, . . . The whole race has been divided, from time immemorial, into certain tribes; each of which is again distributed into Ulúsi, [RCH: the Ulus is a sub-tribe] or communes. The heads of the latter are chosen by the Yakuts, from the chief families, for life. They are called Toyoni; which [274] the Russians very properly translate by Knyás or prince. But it is extremely unbecoming, on the other hand, to put these nobles and other heads of tribes on an equal footing with the mayor of a Russian village, and so entitle them merely gólova! These principal dignitaries remain in office only three years; the Yakuts always choose them from the number of their acknowledged princes, and they are therefore not inferior, certainly, to a Russian governor; and, particularly, because the charge of public administration among the Yakuts is defrayed by that people themselves. When he and other Toyoni required cattle on the road for an official journey, they levied them not on the Russians, but on their own people."

17: Erman--292 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut -1=2
116, 533, 175, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

"I have already mentioned a census of the indigenous population, which had been made the preceding year in the northern part of the government of Tobolsk. A similar work was now going forward in Eastern Siberia, and I met in Yakutsk with three excellent men who were employed in its execution. Of these, M. Pyatuitki alone was connected with the finance department in St. Petersburg, while MM. Tásken and Slobin, from the mines of Nerchinsk, were associated with him, in order to afford him the opportunity of becoming acquainted with whatever mineral riches might exist in the tracts of country gone over. The main object of the expedition was to make a new assessment of the yasak or fur tribute for the several families and tribes of the indigenous population; and we were told thay they were instructed by the government to deal with the people in the mildest possible manner. Yet they had been able to increase the yasak every where throughout the tracts occupied by the Yakuts and Tunguzes along the Upper Lena, as the number of inhabitants had increased there considerably during the last fifty years. It is said that the same result is obtained for all Siberia taken together, and that exceptions are to be found only in localities where endemic diseases prevail, as in the case of the Verkhovian Ostyaks. I heard on this occasion of a particular kind of numerical notation, invented during the present intercourse with the aboriginal tribes, and in which the new assessments were expressed and enjoined to the several communities, and the old accounts settled. It consisted of only six different figures, which represented furs

17: Erman--292 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-2
116, 533, 175, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

to the value of 5 and 10 kopeks, and of 1, 10, 100, and 1000 roobles respectively. When the amount of the assessment was agreed on, it was written in these runes on paper, and then cut on wooden staves as permanent memorials, as the Ostyaks and Votyaks are accustomed to do in their private transactions. To the inhabitants of remote and secluded yurts this was obviously an event of great importance, and worthy to form an epoch in their history. The Yakuts celebrated it in extemporaneous songs, of which a Russian interpreter preserved this fragment: 'The commission erected its throne with us for the good of all; receive it well, ye other tribes, that ye also may be dealt with wisely.'"

24: Wrangell--192 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 166, 511, 651, 177.16 Russia
636.16

"The Tschuwanzi and Jukahiri of the greater Aniuj, from having had far less intercourse with the Russians than has been the case with the dwellers on the banks of the lesser Aniuj, have retained much more of their original language, manners, and customs. The Lamuti and Tungusi along these two rivers have also lost their tame reindeer, and now live poorly on the uncertain produce of the chase and the fisheries. Nor are those Jakuti much better off, who have been brought by the government from the banks of the Aldan, to aid in transporting provisions and other stores to the fort which formerly existed on the Anadyr. Separated from the rest of their countrymen, they have forgotten even their language, and have assimilated to the Russians in manners, mode of life, and even physical appearance. They live almost exclusively by fishing, and their only domestic animals are the dogs which they use for draught.

The population on the banks of the Aniuj has increased latterly, but this cannot be regarded as a sign of improvement in the condition of the people. It is caused by the influx of different nomade tribes, who, having lost their reindeer by sickness or other causes, have been forced to seek their subsistence in the neighbourhood of the rivers, like the rest of their countrymen. The number of persons in this district who still continue to lead a nomade life does not exceed 400. All the inhabitants are subject to a yearly tribute, which they pay partly in furs and partly in money."

24: Wrangell--65 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 161, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

"In the whole Kolyma circle there are now 325 Russian peasants, citizens, and Cossacks, 1034 Jakuti, and 1139 Jukahiri and other races; in all, 2498 males, of whom 2173 pay jassak or tribute.

This jassak consists of 803 foxes and 28 sables, which may be estimated 6704 roubles, and 10,847 roubles in money, making an average of about eight roubles to be paid by every male of the Jakuti and other tribes."

38: Dobell--39-40 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 234, 465, 177.46 Russia
636.46

"Those Yakut labourers and herdsmen employed by the Russian inhabitants appeared to me to be very well off: for instance, a common labourer receives two really good and comfortable suits of clothes a year, and forty to fifty roubles in money, besides being very well fed. If a herdsman, and one who undertakes the care of twenty cows, he gets the milk of five or six cows for his trouble; and for the remaining [40] fourteen or fifteen, he is bound only to deliver thirty pounds of butter per cow to the owner during the summer. The skimmed milk, and whatever butter he may make beyond the quantity stipulated, are all his own. In case of accident or death of any of the herd, he is not responsible unless it happens through his want of care. From this statement it will be perceived that a herdsman has considerable advantages; for it must be a very bad cow that will not yield more than thirty pounds of butter during the summer. The Yakuts, however, know how to manage horses better than horned cattle. Their calves are never weaned until they are a year old; nor will a cow give down her milk unless the calf is brought to her; and if the calf dies she will give no more milk. This is a Yakut custom that only prevails in the eastern parts of Siberia."